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#### ABSTRACT

Compiled for use in Indian history courses at the high-school level, this document contains sections on the history, culture, religion, and myths and legends of the Blackfeet. A guide to the spoken Blackfeet Indian language and examples of the language with English translations are also provided, as is information on sign language and picture writing. The constitution and by-laws for the Blackfeet Tribe, a glossary of terms, and a bibliography of books, films, tapes, and maps are also included. (LS)

# ETHNOLLOSY /Illustrated by Vernon No Runner Compiled Typist ynda: Mercison

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#### INTRODUCTION

Three years ago we decided to introduce an Indian History course to the students of Browning High School, a predominately Indian School. This course was needed, we felt, because the history and culture of the Indian was being lost by the "new" generation.

When the first year course was introduced we found a woeful lack of material, specific material, that is, where a high school student could find material without researching many volumes. We decided to compile the material into one volume which could be used in classes such as ours. The students and myself, over a three year period, have attempted to put together one source of the history, culture, religion, legends, and stories of the Blackfoot Nation. The results you will find bound within.

We do not pretend for this **bo**ok to be any great literary masterpiece. We hope you will find the material enclosed as rewarding as we have in gaining a great deal of knowledge, and insight into the life of the "First American."

G. R. McLaughlin
Instructor
Classes of 1969 and 1970
Browning Public Schools
School District No. 9
Browning, Montana
1970]



#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

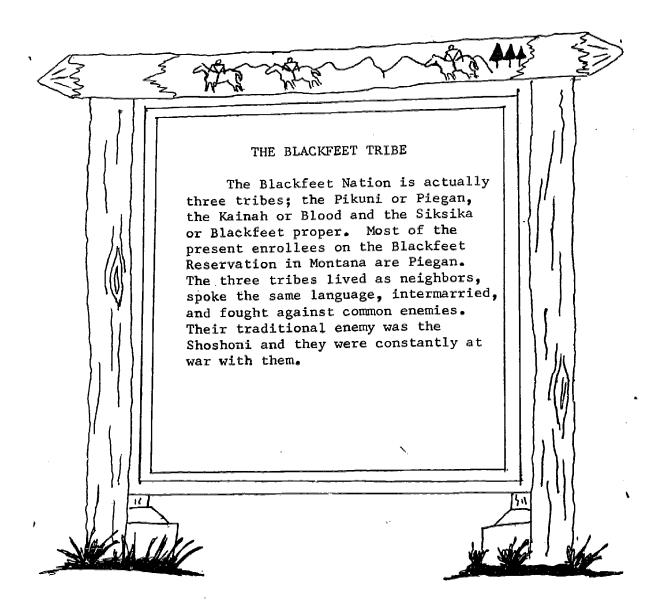
In the compiling of the facts in this anthology many people were involved. Three years of students worked very diligently to gather as much information as possible. Some of them put in many extra hours; Ron Crawford, artist, Viney Kennedy, Sadi Ann Fisher, Kyla Scarborough, Kathy McLaughlin, Frank and Jim Glaze, Jessie Hall, Leonda Croff, Virgil Salway, artist, Pierre Pepion, artist, John Onstad, Don Oscarson, Dennis Juneau, Matthew After Buffalo, and Robert DeRosier are a few of the dedicated ones who deserve special mention.

Mary Grounds, Peter Red Horn, Francis X Guardipee, Agnes Mad Plume, Dan and Gertie Crawford gave us much valuable and authentic information.

If our efforts and time contribute in a small way to the preservation of the Indian culture, our time has not been wasted.

G. R. McLaughlin





## PRONUNCIATION OF INDIAN NAMES

Algonquian al-gong ki-an
Arapahoa-rap a-ho
Assiniboine
Bannockban uk
Cayuseki-us
Cheyenneshi-en
Chickasaw
Chinookchi-nook
Chippewachip a-wa
Coeur d'Alene
Comancheko-man chi
Gros Ventregro vant
Hidatsahe-dat sa
Iroquoisir a-kwoi
Kalispelkal is pel
Kiowaki a-wa
Kutenaikoo te-na
Nez Perce
Ojibwayo-jib wa
Paiutepi-oot
Pieganpe-gan
Sahaptiansa-hap ti-an
Salish
Shoshonisho-sho ne
Sioux
Umatillau ma-til a
Washakiewosh a-ke
Yakimayak i-mo

### CHAPTER I - HISTORY

A Generalized View The Early Hunters The Foragers The Late Hunters Culture of the Late Hunters The Plains Tribes The Algonkian Family The Blackfeet in the 18th Century The Blackfoot Group Story of the Blackfoot Indians From Pedestrians to Horsemen Social Organization Blackfeet Societies At War and Peace with American Fur Traders The Baker Massacre The Battle at Belly River The Starvation Winter Trading Land for a Living Reservations Life on the Reservation

#### A GENERALIZED VIEW

Since the middle of last century, until quite recently, the native tribes inhabiting the area now included within the boundaries of the United States seemed destined for extinction. Reference to the "vanishing red man" was common in song and story. A popular equestrian sculpture labelled "The End of the Trail; captured the note of inevitable doom. Reproduction in minature of this doleful composition had wide distribution as parlour ornaments and carried into American homes the idea that Indian destinv had run its course.

Only the Indians seemed unwilling to accept the dire forecast. Caught up in succeeding waves of devastating epidemics and border wars as settlement moved ever westward, the Indians retreated, protecting what they could and managing to be at hand to fight another day when necessity required it. They lost, but were never destroyed.

By 1850 the total Indian population had declined to 250,000, according to estimates that may not be too reliable. A low point of 220,000 may have been reached. The population at the beginning of the seventeenth century may have been 850,000, when settlement north of Mexico made a precarious beginning. The count hovered at the reduced number until the census of 1910, when a slow recovery was registered.

Today's Indian population is officially reported as either 400,000 or 450,000 according to whether the figure is supplied by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the Bureau of the Census. The significant fact is that the current rate of growth of the Indian population exceeds the rate for the general population. In the latest comparative figures, for 1951, the net annual increase of the Indian group was 22 per 1,000 population, while for the United States the rate was 15 per 1,000. As health facilities improve and more Indians are reached, the rate of growth should continue to improve and before the end of this century the Indians population is likely to approximate to what it was at the time of discovery. Mortality rates, especially of infants, still run higher in the Indian population than in the general population.

The enumeration of Indians has always been beset by special problems, an understanding of which will provide some insight into the Indian situation of the United States. It should be explained, for example, that Indian persons are not counted as Indians by the Bureau of Indian Affairs unless they fall within certain categories, usually



this means Indian persons for whom the Federal Government has some responsibility to provide services. The Bureau of the Census, on the other hand, counts as Indians those persons who identify themselves as Indians or who may be recognized readily as Indians because they reside in an Indian community with other Indians.

In either case, many thousands of individuals are not counted as Indians though they are quite as much Indian by inheritance and style of living as those who are officially enumerated. The reasons for this often have historical beginnings.

In the regions of earliest contact, viz, the Atlantic Seaboard and the states fronting on the Gulf of Mexico, tribal territories were appropriated and the indigenous population was either destroyed or driven inland. But in recent times, from the swamps and coves and wooded mountains of those regions Indians appear in growing numbers, and it is apparent that extermination was never complete. They had disappeared from the scene and their tribal territory has been dissolved before the United States came into existence, and therefore no treaty relationship or other basis of recognition was ever established.

In the area north of the Ohio River, westward to Lake Michigan, a different course of events produced quite similar results. After the American Revolution, settlers poured into the region, using the Ohio as a main highway. In the single year 1787, flat boats loading at Pittsburg transported 18,000 men, women, and children; 12,000 head of livestock, and 650 wagons to new homes along the river. The struggling new Government tried to pursue a policy of preventing settlement until treaties could be negotiated and the lands transferred in an orderly manner, but so great was the pressure for land that years of confusion and border warfare ensued. Eventually, the tribes in the area, with the exception of portions of the Iroquois nations, signed some treaties of cession and moved westward.

But there were dissenters. Indian families, or bands, or parts of bands, either chose to remain behind on land allotments, as the treaties often permitted, or simply refused to abide by the agreement and in effect cut themselves off from the main body of the tribe. These Indians still remain in the Great Lakes country, growing in numbers, but not officially recognized as Indians and therefore not enumerated.

The University of Chicago has recently brought the problem of identifying and enumerating the Indian population under study, with results that are quite at variance with the official reports.



This study produced an estimate of 610,000 for the Indian population in 1950. While this is a discrepancy of some magnitude, a more significant result of the study was the conclusion that "Indian communities, as separate, distinct social systems, are increasing in population." As to these communities, even where there has been a history of long, intensive contact with Euro-American society, the common acculturation pattern is for these small societies to take over, possibly, a great many Euro-American traits and institutions, but to fix them into a context of the older Indian patterns of life. More than tentatively, one can say that American Indian communities, as a whole, are distinct growing communities that will preserve the core of their native style of life.

This is to say that the survival of the Indian people cannot be measured in numbers alone. Biological vigour is but one characteristic of an ethnic group that has survived against great odds and still maintains its identity.

The participants observed; "Most Indian groups in the United States, after more than one hundred years of Euro-American contact and in spite of strong external presures, both direct and fortuitous, have not yet become assimilated in the sense of loss of community identity and the full acceptance of American habits of thought and conduct." And they concluded: "Despite external pressures, and internal change, most of the present identifiable Indian groups residing on Indian reservation (area known to them as homelands) will continue indefinitely as distinct social units, preserving their basic values, often superficial in nature, to the economic and political demands of the larger society."

The evidence for this on-going Indian world is diverse and pervasive. Of the estimated 300 Indian languages spoken in the area north of Mexico at the time of discovery, at least, half are currently in use. Great numbers of Indian children start their formal schooling without knowledge of the English Language and pose a problem for their English-speaking teachers.

Kinship systems and lines of descent still function, often at variance with Government record systems and legal procedures.

It has recently been remarked: "Few Indian tribes have disappeared completely," and while this is a surprising fact to most Americans, it indicates that these people are not being absorbed or assimilated into the dominant Americans, culture. Indeed, American Indian groups still retain many aspects of their own distinctive ways of life and have in only rare instances become "Americanized."

These observations would not deny that a process of integration goes forward, and that a concept of cultural pluralism may be gaining ground against an earlier insistence on the "melting pot" solution for social divergencies. But here we are at the moment concerned with the evidence of Indian survival.

One line of inquiry pursued in recent years suggests that the survival of Indian tribal life is not an accident of blind chance. Intensified study of tribal groups in which overt forms and practices have changed or may even have been largely replaced, may discover that the underlying fabric of Indian personality has persisted with unsuspected tenacity. The best documented studies in this area of inquiry are concerned with the Chippewa Indians. In Canada related bands are designated Ojibway or Saulteaux.

These Indians occupied an extensive area north of Lake Huron and around both shores of Lake Superior and westward to Lake Winniegs Contact with Europeans through the fur trade occured at quite an early date, and in modern times these Indians display a wide range of acculturation. The northern group along the Berens River in Western Ontario follow a hunting-trapping-fishing-economy very close to the aboriginal mode described by early travelers and traders; at the southern extremes the Wisconsin Chippewas live in close contact with their white neighbors, speak English, send their children to school with white children, and dress and behave very much like the whites.

The purpose of the inquiry was to determine, if possible, what agreement or conformity existed between observable acculturated behavior and covert inner life of the people. The general outlines of primitive Chippewa existence and group behavior were reconstructed, from the accounts of explorers, traders, missionaries, and others who had close association with the Indians in the 17th century and supplemented by field observations and projective tests administered to both adults and children.

"These studies" as reported by A. Irving Hallowell, "furnish a considerable body of evidence that all points in the same direction--a persistant core of psychological characteristics sufficient to identify an Ojibway personality constellation, aboriginal in nature, that is clearly discernible through all levels of acculturation yet studies. For this reason all the Ojibway referred to are still Indians in a psychological sense, whatever clothes they wear, whatever their occupation, whether they speak English or not, and regardless of race mixture."

A tentative and partial explanation of these findings is proposed

by another student, sifting through the same Chippewa-Ojibway evidence, with this formulation: "When cultures have undergone considerable change in their overt or explicit levels, they may still be maintaining continuity in the covert or implicit dimensions of a people's goals and expectations."

Interest has also turned to searching out and describing psychological characteristics of Indian personality that seems to have the quality of universality with perhaps minor variations between tribes or between culture areas. Using the data of psycho-cultural studies, individual autobiographies, and direct observation, it has been possible to identify certain widely shared aspects of the aboriginal personalities of American Indians and possibly characterize the Indian psychological core of the least acculturated segments of contemporary tribes.

There can be disagreement when it comes to naming the elements that should be included in such a psychological inventory, as the Spindlers were aware when they suggested the following: Restrained and non-demonstrative emotional bearing, coupled with the group, always with a concern for the safety of the group; generosity, expressed in varying patterns of formalized giving or sharing; autonomy of the individual in societies that were largely free of classes of hierarchies; acceptance of pain, hardship, hunger, and frustration without voicing complaint; high regard for courage and bravery, often pattterned as aggressive acts against the out-group; fear of the witchcraft; joking relationships with certain kinsmen, as a device for receiving pressures within the group; detailed, practical, and immediate concern in problem situations, rather than advance planning to prevent future difficulties; dependence upon supernatural power, which is invoked through dreams or ritual, as a means to the good life.

If the concept of the universal psychological trait is valid, leaving aside the difficulty of agreement as to which traits have that quality, it offers additional insight into the reasons for cultural persistence in the Indian group. To the extent, as through a perceptual screen, what the group accepted and what was rejected among the choices made possible by a changing cultural environment, in any case, Indian characteristics exist, and remain in play after centuries of Indian-White association. The Dominican monks who in 1544 described Indians as "not acquisitive" and "satisfied with having enough to get along on from day to day" were describing traits that are complained of in modern times, by aggressive, hustling white men.

In addition to their survival in numbers and in cultural attributes, the Indian of the United States own and utilize land and other



property, remants of their aboriginal territories. Also the tribes occupy in United States law a station that reflects, in a limited way, the sovereignty which they once exercised as a self-governing peoples.

The reserved land base, as we shall discover, like the population, went through a period of severe reduction. Most of the major Indian reservation had been created before the end of the last century, by treaty provisions, legislation, or executive order. In spite of many years of turmoil of border fighting, and Indian defeats and removals, the tribes, at least in the territory west of the Mississippi River, managed to stay within the general region of their aboriginal domain. Equally remarkable, perhaps, was the fact that as late as 1890 the tribes still retained a total area of 140,000,000 acres, a land surface almost as large as the State of Texas, and this at a time when the total Indian population was at its lowest ebb and the idea of ultimate extinction was generally accepted.

Policies and legislative action pursued after that time resulted in the transfer of large acreages out of Indian ownership. Indian society itself came under heavy attack by a benevolent paternalism which was determined to accomplish the assimilation of the Indian people without delay. The methods and procedures instituted in pursuit of this objective were at times disingenuous, and at times beneighly worm-headed.

Thus, the generalized picture of the Indian tribes today is of a people that has survived in numbers, in social organization, in custom and outlook, in the retention of physical resources, and in its position before the law. The situation might be described as a survival of fragments, of incomplete entities——but there we would miss the mark. Any people at any time is survival of fragments out of the past. The functions of culture is always to reconstitute the fragments into a functioning whole. The Indians, for all that has been lost or rendered useless out of their ancient experience, remain a continuing ethnic and cultural enclave with a stake in the future.

# THE EARLY HUNTERS Approximately 10,000 B.C. to 5,000 B.C.

As the name implies the period of the Early Hunters saw the hunting of big game animals such as huge bison types now extinct. The Early Hunter also hunted smaller animals and looked for plants that could be used for food. Like men everywhere, these Early Hunters liked a variety of foodstuffs.

To hunt the large game animal the Early Hunters had to possess a technological knowledge that would enable them to meet and beat these animals. This required, first, suitable tools and weapons; secondly, a knowledge of the habits and characteristics of animals sought; and third, social organization. The Early Hunters had all these skills. Organization, or working together as a team, was necessary to drive the animals into traps such as snowdrifts, swamps, corrals, and over cliffs.

The main social unit, or tribe, remained small and consisted of, let us say, about 30 to 40 people. When engaged in drives, it is probable a number of these units worked together. The small unit, however, was the permanent group as is indicated by the small size of the camp sites which they once occupied.

The main weapon of the period was the spear thrower or atlatl. This consisted of a throwing board which, in effect, lengthened the hunter's arm so that he could obtain a greater speed in the missile. The throwing board hurled small spears which are larger than the arrows of later times, but they were smaller than ordinary throwing spears. The points on the atlat1 spears were larger than the arrowheads, which appeared thousands of years later in time. The larger points, of course, were necessary for the proper trajectory and balance in flight. It was not until the time of the Late Hunters, thousands of years later that the bow and arrow was introduced into North America. Spear throwers, incidently, are still used by the Eskimoes and Aborigines of Australia, and they continued in use by the Aztecs in preference to the bow and arrow. Hence, we know something about their efficiency and the manner in which they were made and used by people in ancient times before the bow and arrow was invented.

Projectile points made by the Early Hunters were distinct and can readily be identified as a horizon marker, to identify a period of time, in the time scale. Generally they were leaf shaped and varied from three to six inches in length. Some of the early types had a square blade and unusual flute or grooves down the middle. A later



type had a long, square stem on the base.

The remains of these early men, so far, have not been found west of the continental divide in Montana although they are known to have occupied Idaho on the south, and throughout eastern Montana as far as Helena, near the Continental Divide. It is very possible that ice age, ice, and lakes remained a little longer in the intermountain valleys, thus inhibiting their occupation by man. Some signs of early men, however, can be placed in Deer Lodge Valley. At one place, near Drummond, man occupied a camp-site some 9,000 years ago.

It is evident that climatic changes gradually caused serious changes in the population of large game animals, and a change in the plant life. The ever decreasing game herds became insufficient and unreliable as a main source of sustenance, food and clothing, and the native economy was facilitated, or helped, by the introduction of new ideas for gathering and preparing plant foods. Such ideas entered the Northwestern Plains from the south, possibly from the Great Basin of Nevada, Utah, and Idaho, thus was introduced the horizon at time of the Foragers.

#### THE FORAGERS

In much of Montana the Indian population seems to have been sparse. Yet, they thrived around Yellowstone Lode where climatic conditions must have been nicer than it seems they are today, and western Montana saw an increase in population. At least four different types of points were used during this period, in addition, stone implements for grinding grass-seeds, were developed, and the technique became so popular that they have persisted in use until modern times among the Salish and Kutenai. Nothing is known, however, about the dwellings of these people, but it is likely they had used some type of conical lodge.

#### THE LATE HUNTERS

During the period of the late hunters, bison herds began to increase in size again. The Indians were ready to accomodate a change in their economy. It required hundreds of rabbits to equate the carcass of a single buffalo in the quanity of meat, skins and bones it could provide. Some of the Forager techniques for preparing foodstuffs were retained, however. The Indian, too, was a gourmet, but hunting became of greater importance.



#### CULTURE OF THE LATE HUNTERS

PICTOGRAPHS: Pictographs are paintings made by aborigines on rock surfaces or skins. Closely related are petroglyphs, or designs cut and pecked into rock surfaces. Pictographs are most common in the Mountain areas of Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana, while petroglyphs are typical of the plains areas adjoining. Several different styles of pictographs are in evidence, each representing a different historic horizon in ancient culture. First, and most widespread are simple animal figures painted in solid red pigments. Lines and circles near-by represent numerals. Second to appear were outline figures, and some abstractions. Third were more elaborate abstractions. Finally, there appeared more realistic figures again which represented historic events. Earlier the pictographs were placed on rocks by suppliant or there were "signatures" left after a visitation. Short lines added nearby denoted the number of days the suppliant remained at the site. The last pictographs represented historic events, such as the arrival of a boat of white explorers, or other events worth commemorating.

POINTS: Projectile points during the earliest part of the Late Hunters period were of the corner-notched variety. They were fairly large in size since the atlatt was still the main weapon. Later, the various types of side-notched points were introduced. The bow and arrow also became widely used by hunters and warriors, and approprietely, the projectile points became smaller.

POTTERY: Pottery was made by Indians throughout this time. Most of it appears to have been made in the decades just before whites arrived. Some of it was flat-bottomed while other pieces were globular in form. The shapes usually indicated tribal preferences. Pottery was not decay at the paint, but designs were often incised on the rim, mack or sides while the clay was still wet.

PIPES: It is not likely that pipes were used anciently in the Plains, and in the Northern Rocky Mountains. Tubular pipes were introduced into this area first, probably by the Shoshini, who came in from the south about 1500 A.D., later, other types were ceremonial. The pipes from the east were the platform type, then finally, the large red catlinite pipes. The latter were mostly brought in by white traders, after 1800. The materials came from popular quarry in Minnesota.

DWELLINGS: Still another devalopment was a special dwesling which, when its remains rotted away or when part of it was memoved, left stone circles on the ground. Tens of thousands of such stone circles or "tipi rings" are scattered through central and easiers. Montana, southern



Alberta, and Wyoming. They are rare, however, in western Montana and Idaho. The stone circles range from 10 to 20 feet in diameter. Stone circles over 20 feet across, some of them ranging as much as 45 feet in diameter, were ceremonial in origin. Many stone circles, whether large or small, have internal features of stones. Some, for example, have circles within circles, while others are criss-crossed with simple stone lines, like spokes in a wheel. In some instances in northern Montana, and southern Alberta there are spokes radiating out from a hub consisting of a rock pile, but the circle or wheel may be lacking. These were special monuments made to honor heroic chiefs and warriors, and they were usually made by Blackfeet Indians in fairly recent times.



#### THE PLAINS TRIBES

Primitive people are most conveniently classified according to their linguistic affiliations. Groups whose speech is similar so they are able to communicate with each other, not with standing minor differences, are said to be speaking dialects of the same language: we speak of distinct languages. However, in many instances of the latter kind, the languages show many resemblances that can be explained only on the assumption that they have diverged from a common parental tongue, perhaps centuries or even millions of years ago. This holds true for English, Dutch, and Swedish, even Russian proves to be connected with these languages when their vocabularies and grammar are closely examined. Such ultimately related languages jointly form a family (stock). In a large family it may happen that two or more of the languages are closer to each other than to the rest, in which case the family is for convenience divided into branches, or composed of several distinct languages, which in turn may split into various dialects.

This mode of grouping, when applied to the Plains Indians leads to the recognition of six families. If we hyphenate the names of groups speaking identical or virtually identical languages, we arrive at the following tabulation:

Algonkian Family
Blackfoot (Piegan-BloodNorthern Blackfoot)
Cheyenne
Arapaho (Gros Ventre)
Plains Cree
Plains Ojibwa (Plains Chippewa)

Siouan Family
Mandan
Hidatsa
Crow
Dakota-Assiniboin
Iowa-Oto
Missouri
Omaha-Ponca-Osage-Kansan

Athabaskan Family Sarsi Kiowa Apache

Caddoan Family Pawnee-Arikara Wichita

Kiowan Family Kiowa

Uto-Aztecan Family Wind River Shoshone-Comanche Ute

Although modern linguists recongnize the relationship of these languages with Aztec and other Mexican languages, those spoken north of the Rio Grande are still sometimes conveniently referred to as "Shoshonean."



Though the several Plains tribes spoke so many different languages, they were not without a common medium of communication, a sign language, not identical with that of deaf-mutes, but comparable to it. The gestures employed to designate various ideas were generally understood throughout the Plains. To illustrate the system; "cold" was indicated by clenching both hands and crossing the forearms in front of the chest with a trembling motion. "Chief" was represented by raising the forefinger, pointing it vertically upward, then reversing the finger and bringing it down. For "rain" or "snow" the gesture was to hold the hands at the level of the shoulders, the fingers hanging down, the palm down, and then to push downward. It might seem that this was an inferior system of communication. A Cheyenne could there-by recount his war deeds to a group of Crow Indians incapable of understanding one word of his speech.



# THE BLACKFEET IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (The Stone-Age Blackfeet of about 1720)

From tribal traditions, supplemented by the writings of early white explorers and traders, we can place together a partial picture of Blackfeet life shortly before the influence of European civilization began to alter their native habits and customs. It is a hazy picture, lacking in detail. Nevertheless, it should give us some conception of native life in the early 18th century, and better enable us to understand the rapid changes in Blackfeet life that took place in more recent times.

About the year 1720, the Blackfeet were all Canadian Indians. They all resided within the boundaries of what is now Canada, largely, if not entirely, in the present province of Saskatchewan, on the plains south of the North Saskatchewan River, the Flathead and Shoshone on the southwest, the Assiniboine and possibly some Gros Ventre on the southeast, the Assiniboine and possibly some Cree on the east, and the Sarsi on the north.

Like the other tribes the Blackfeet were then nomadic hunters, living in portable villages. Buffalo were their principal game, which they hunted on foot with stone, bone or horn headed arrows and possibly stone pointed lances. Small parties of hunters stalked the large beasts, surprising them at water holes or stream crossings, or approaching within easy arrow range under animal skin disquises. In late summer, when the buffalo were fat and lazy, fleet runners . may have been able to surprise and overtake the clumsy animals, and fall them with stone knives. In winter they drove them in the snow. When the occasion was favorable, a whole village worked together to lure a herd of buffalo to the edge of a precipitous cut-bank overlooking a stream, and over to destruction in the valley below. By much the same methods buffalo were lured into man-made corrals on the Open plains. Butchering was done with knives of stone. The hulking frame of the buffalo was a veritable general store for the Indian. From it, he derived nourishing food, skin for the construction of the lodge, clothing, and a variety of materials (bones, horns, hoofs, hair, sinew and other internal parts).

The Blackfeet country was also the home of antelope, deer, elk, bear, beaver and many smaller animals which insured the Indians a variety in meat diet and additional source of skins for clothing. The edible roots or berries of a number of wild plants also furnished foods. These were eaten alone or mixed with meat. Plants also supplied medicines for the sick. Although the primitive Blackfeet probably planted patches of tobacco for ceremonial use, they made no effort to grow food crops on their grassy plains.



The Blackfeet made a living by hunting, and all other phases of life were adjusted to the conditions of a hunting existence. Their homes were conical, skin covered lodges, moved to new localities when wandering buffalo herds were not to be found near the village. The lodge covers were folded and packed on peculiar Ashaped drags, we now know as travois, which were harnessed to their sturdy, wolf-like dogs. Their lodges probably were smaller than those used in later times, or possibly they were made in sections because dogs could not drag much more than fifty pounds. Probably the Indians shared the burden of moving camp by carrying some of the house-hold equipment on their back.

For clothing, they needed materials that would be warm in winter, stand hard wear, and could be folded easily and transported from place to place. Animal robes, with the hair on, furnished the Indian with a warm coat which completely enveloped his body and kept out the sub-zero cold of the northern winter. Buffalo robes also served as comfortable bed blankets. In warm weather men wore little or no clothing. Women wore merely a skin slip with straps over the shoulders. Women's outfits had separate sleeves that could be put on over the top of the slip when more protection was desired. Skins used for clothing were often smoked so that they would remain soft and pliable through the rain and snow. Bindings were probably made of soft rawhide easily obtainable from animals of the regions.

Primitive Blackfeet manufacturers must have been few, and methods simple. Arrow points, knives, and scrapers were laboriously chipped out of stone. Hammers were rudely grooved, round boulders secured to a wooden handle with wet, green rawhide which shrank as it dried and insured a firm attachement. War clubs were made in much the same way. The horns of buffalo were ingeniously fashioned into ladels, spoons and cups. Bowls were made of wood. They made some crude, undecorated pottery vessels for cooking and serving food. It must have been very rude and thick in comparison with the fine, decorated pottery that was made in the southwest at that time.

Indians love for ornamentation found expression in the decoration of their clothing, lodges, and other useful objects. Robes, lodge covers, and possibly packing cases, were painted with earth colors. Women also decorated their dresses, men's suits and moccasins worn on special occasions, with carefully applied embroidery in porcupine quills of different colors obtained from native plant dye-stuffs. Necklaces were made of bear claws or teeth, and probably of buffalo or elk teeth, eagle claws, dried rose berries, fungus, roots or braided sweetgrass. The picturesque feathers were probably used by warriors in their hair to bring them luck.

It is more difficult to try to picture the social and ceremonial



life of the Blackfeet in those days. It seems reasonable to suppose that a people whose time was occupied in wresting a living from the country with primitive tools, and whose facilities for transportation and travel were limited, could not have indulged in elaborate, periodic gatherings of entire tribes for lengthy ceremonies to the same extent as did their descendants of historic times. Nor would they have been likely to have transported much weighty equipment of only occasional ceremonial use in travels for considerable distances on foot. The Blackfeet then must have lived in small village groups or bands, each one united by blood or strong personal loyalties under an able leader. In good weather they moved out over the broad plains in search of game. In winter they sought the shelter of some timbered river bottom where they pitched their lodges out of driving wind, and remained more or less inactive through the months of bitter cold.

Indian traditions suggest that life in those days must have been relatively peaceful. There was little cause for war. None of the surrounding tribes held desireable possessions the Blackfeet could not obtain for themselves in their own country. Conflicts, when they arose, generally were caused by the determination to extend or protect hunting grounds, or by the theft of women from other tribes. A small hunting camp was occasionally the victim of the attack of an enemy war party. Pitched battles between large forces were rare, and more often resulted in a stalemate with few casualties rather than in decisive victory. The weapons were bows and arrows for fighting at a distance, and lances, knives and clubs for close combat. The rawhide shield used for defense was considerably larger, and bows were much longer than those used by the Blackfeet after they acquired horses.

There undoubtedly was some trade between the primitive Blackfeet and their neighbors. But by and large the Blackfeet lived off
the country. Had they known much about life elsewhere they might
have found their own existence rather dull and monotonous. However,
we must think of these people, at that time, as self-reliant and
independent. They used no desirable weapons, tools, utensils, or
other articles that they could not duplicate with their own bands
from materials available in their own country. We shall see that
this condition was in sharp contrast with the growing dependence of
the Blackfeet on the white man in later generations.

The period we have just considered was not a remote one in American history. At the time, England, France, and Spain had extensive colonies in eastern and southern North America. English settlers had broken the power of a number of Indian tribes on reservations. Spanish explorers had become acquainted with much of the southwest. France



had colonized eastern Canada, and French explorers had pushed westward through the Great Lakes, into the Mississippi Valley. In 1682, the Frenchmen, La Salle, claimed all the lands drained by the great river system for his country. The Hudson Bay Company had opened trade with the Indians around Hudson Bay. But, as yet, the most daring explorers had not come within hundreds of miles of the Blackfeet country. Doubtless, the Blackfeet heard exaggerated tales of white men which were passed westward through tribes farther east. But, they had not seen these strange pale faces.



#### THE BLACKFOOT GROUP

Far out in the very northwest corner of the plains, next to the Rocky Mountains in Montana and in adjacent parts of Alberta and Canada, were the powerful Blackfoot tribes: the South Piegan, North Piegan, Blood and North Blackfoot. Under their protection were the Gros Ventre (Atsina), a division of Arapaho, and a small tribe of foreigners, the Sarsi of the Dene Family. The Blackfoot first came to notice about 1750, when contact was made with them by white fur traders. Even at that time they were well supplied with horses, and one of the first white men to write about them from firsthand information said that the chief of one tribe rode a white mule. When first observed, they were without guns and other European goods. Within twenty years they were well armed and had begun to expand in power, to raid the surrounding Indians and otherwise terrorize all on their borders. They were a grassland people, rangingjust east of the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in a region well supplied with buffalo and favorable to raising horses. Visitors to Glacier Park have a chance to look out upon the South Piegan reservation, a part of their ancient home. Like other buffalo hunting Indians they lived in skin covered tipis, dressed in buffalo and deer skins, made no attempt to cultivate food plants and owned many horses.

The Blackfoot tribes held a large body of land. Turning to a map of Canada and the United States showing the Rocky Mountains, and taking them as the western boundary to the Blackfoot country, draw a line east through Edmonton to Battleford, thence due south to the Missouri in Montana, thence westward through Great Falls, Montana, and back to the Rocky Mountains, south of Glacier Park. This block of territory is about four hundred miles long and averages about three hundred and fifty miles in width, an area large enough to make three states like Pennsylvania. Here they stood with their backs to the mountains, facing eastward. They had little to fear from behind, because that bold, rugged almost impassable mountain wall held off aggressors from the west. On the eastern front were their hostile Algonkin relations, the Cree, Arapaho, Atsina and Ojibway. Interspersed among them were certain members of the Sioux Family, and on the south, bold and aggressive were the Snake, Crow and other tribes of whom they were at odds. With this picture in mind we can better appreciate the problems confronting the Blackfoot. They were in a pocket, and all depended upon their ability to hold both the front line of defense and their flanks. If adversity and hard knocks are necessary to make a people great, the Blackfoot tribes had no excuse for mediocrity.



The South Piegan held the southern and southeastern front. Here were buffalo hunters; Indians recently equipped with horses, trying to press in to scalp the Piegan hunters and to plunder their camps. It was on this front that the Piegan made their first acquaintance with horses, suffering defeat because of this new and unexpected way of fighting. They were now at a disadvantage, but not for long, because the need was great. The Piegan soon raided enemy camps, capturing enough horses to start herds of their own and to mount their fighting men. Soon they were superior not only in the number of horses but in horse tactic.

About this time Cree and Assiniboin Indians began to raid their northeastern front, armed with guns received from traders on Hudson Bay and the Great Lakes. Here was trouble. Fortunately these gunmen from the east raided and fought on foot. So, though the Blackfoot were still using bows and arrows, lances and clubs, they made up for this deficiency in horsemanship. Anyway, they held their own, though at an increased cost in manpower. Then to make matters more serious the Cree and Assiniboin began turning their gaze on the north. Now the whole line of defense was in danger, but gradually this handicap was overcome by capturing guns, trading with the enemy on occasion, just as civilized nations do, even in time of war, and finally inducing the strongest trading companies to build trading posts in their own country.

The first white people to visit them, and less than two hundred years ago, were impressed by their cleanliness, the business-like way in which their large camps were handled, the discipline under which they operated and the dignity and personality of their leaders. These white travelers knew the Algonkin and other Indians directly east of the Blackfoot, so obviously, they found a contrast here in favor of the Blackfoot. The fur traders who first did business with the Blackfoot tell us that a little later the South Piegan were the most powerful and the most interesting tribe, because they were holding the south and southwestern front, where the pressure from other Indians was continuous and most aggressive. We are not surprised that one veteran trader writes, that they were the best behaved, the most honorable and therefore, his preferred customers.

Once the Blackfoot were equipped with guns, they began to smash through the enemies lines and take the offensive. The Piegan even raided through the pass south of Glacier Park, to the west of the mountains, where the Indians were still poorly supplied with guns.

Two English trading corporation were permitted to set up posts in their country, and on the Missouri, in Montana, were some United



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States posts to which they could go, provided they went in force, because some of their most powerful enemies also traded there. Beyond this, there was no evidence of a white menance to the Blackfoot until abour 1820, when white trappers looking for beaver began to come in from the southeast. We should not forget that all but a fraction of Blackfoot territory is in Canada, where the advance of the white frontier was slower than in the United States. Since the invading trappers were from the United States and their chief Indian enemies came from the same direction, the Blackfoot attacked them at sight. They were encouraged to do this by the Canadian traders on the ground that foreigners had no right there anyway. The raids upon the trappers were carried far down into Montana, because the Blackfoot claimed that country, and because killing the trappers for trade goods was a more exciting way to get furs than to spend the winter trapping. In time this looting of trappers became a business rather than a matter of defense, but so powerful were these Indians that they succeeded in keeping white men out of their country for a long time. As just noted, the impenetrable mountains were behind them, and the advancing white frontier in the United States flowed past them on the south; they were not in its line of march.

The Blackfoot seem to have been at the height of their power about 1830, travelers and fur traders estimated their population at ten to eighteen thousand souls. They still defied their Indian enemies and kept the white trappers from breaking in. Though the white frontiers were not pressing upon them, they were soon to feel the power of this new enemy. In 1836 smallpox, the dreaded white man's disease, swept through the tribes on their eastern border; the reports state that many camps lost more than three-fourths of their number. Within a few months raiding parties of Blackfoot had carried the scourge home with them; about half their population died.

Again, in 1845, and once more, in 1857, the same disease swept through their camps, and reduced about one third of their former strength. They were less able to resist white pressure, but as their Indian enemies suffered even more, they still carried on boldly. We hear a great deal these days about conquering populations by spreading diseases. Of course, in those days, the whites did not do so intentionally, but the Indians could tell how it worked if they chose, for in New England, and again in the west, smallpox made the advance of the frontier easy. It was the white man's most deadly weapon.

Discipline and wise leadership characterized the Blackfoot, and though weakened by losses from smallpox, they were about to suffer a



body blow from another white man's weapon. The Canadian trading companies restricted the sale of liquor to Indians, which was a wise policy, but it encouraged illicit trade from the United States. Soon the "whiskey traders," as they were called, came among the Blackfoot Indians, encouraging them to steal horses and cattle from white ranchers to trade for liquor. The chiefs opposed the procedure, knowing that in the end it would bring on war, but the younger Indians wanted liquor above all things. The traders told them not to listen to their chiefs, and in this way the whole tribal government was pulled down, prostitution and excesses of all kinds were encouraged. A reservation had been set aside in northern Montana for the South Piegan and an agentappointed, but he was powerless to stop these evils. Conditions grew steadily worse until 1868, when the settlers of Montana began to enforce law and order. The difficulty lay in the proximity of the Canadian border: the "whiskey traders" could operate from Canada, and Indians from that side could cross the border to steal cattle and horses, and once back across the line with their loot, were safe. Being the only Indians within reach, they suffered most. In 1869 a few soldiers fell upon a peaceful camp of South Piegan, killing men, women and " children; the same sad story all over again. However, this is the only real engagement between the Piegan and United States Troops. The next year smallpox came again.

The South Piegan were now completely broken, few in number, morally debased, with little social control. They surrendered completely to the United States, agreed to live under an agent and not to cross the border into Canada. The remainder of the Blackfoot became Canadian Indians, and that government took steps to see that they stayed at home. It was not until fifteen years later that their raids into Montana became negligible. Buffalo were still numerous in Montana, and the Piegan lived by hunting. In 1875 a new agent was appointed for the South Piegan, under whose wise guidance the power of the chiefs was restored and the tribe saved from utter ruin; but there were troubles ahead still. By 1883 the buffalo were gone and hunters returned without meat. There was hunger everywhere, children crying for food, women wailing and men praying. In desperation they boiled bones and the bark of trees. Death stalked through the camps, but the power of their leaders held. Eventually food reached them and conditions became normal. Those wonderful leaders pulled them through. In the years that followed, under the strain of reservation life their number declined until 1900; since which time they have been increasing, becoming more and more civilized.

The North Piegan, Blood and North Blackfoot in Canada suffered somewhat less from starvation and smallpox and are now living on reservations and gradually adjusting themselves to the ways of a white world.



Unlike the other Algonkin, the Blockfoot did not engage in formal war with the white man and so did not suffer defeat in that sense. However, disease and vice came instead to carry away their population and to destroy their power. The end was the same. Unlike the Algonkin of the Defendare and the Shawnee, they could not retreat before the advancing frontier. Like their relatives in New England, they were forced to stand and take the consequences, in this case not to meet with extermination but to fall victims to a train of tragic circumstances almost as deadly.



#### THE STORY OF THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS

The Blackfeet Indians of the early 19th century have been well described as "the most potent and aggressive military power in the northwestern plains." White trappers of the period were aware of this fact and only the most venturesome tempted Blackfeet war parties by entering their territory.

The Blackfeet tribes once claimed a vast area of land in what is now Montana and Alberta. Formerly the country was teemed with game. There were mountain goat and bighorn in the high country, deer and elk in the valleys, antelope and most important---buffalo in vast herds on the grass-covered plains.

The three tribes of the Blackfeet Indians, Piegan, Blood, and Blackfoot Proper, formed with their allies, the Gros Venture and Sarci, a sort of loose confederacy. The Blackfeet groups spoke a common language——a dialect of Algonquin, shared the same customs, inter-married and often went to war against their common enemies. At the same time they were politically independent with each having its own chief and its own Sun Dance, the great annual religious ceremony. The earlier home of the Blackfeet has not been definitely established, but some students believe that they, like their linguistic cousins the Arapaho and Gros Ventre, once lived far to the east, perhaps somewhere around Lake Winnipeg. Over the last two centuries they gradually moved south and west to their present territory in Alberta and Montana.

Prior to the introduction of the horse, the only domesticated animal of the Blackfeet was the dog. This animal was employed to transport the Indians' household equipment by mean; of a crude drag (travois) consisting of two poles strapped to the animal and dragging on the ground behind. After the introduction of the horse the mobility of the Blackfeet greatly increased in hunting and warfare. Formerly the Blackfeet practiced no agriculture, except to cultivate a little tobacco each year for ceremonial purposes. With the coming of the fur traders and their commercial tobacco, this custom was abandoned. The women gathered wild fruits and berries, collected edible plants and dug wild turnips and other roots. But the people subsisted largely upon the products of the chase and followed the life of nomadic hunters. Little or no use was made of fish, which were abundant in the plains' rivers. Supplies of dried buffalo meat were prepared in fall to last through the long, tedious winter spent in some protected spot along a stream. In summer the people moved frequently in pursuit of the buffalo herds.



Long ago Blackfeet women did not devote much care to dressing the hair. In recent years, however, girls and matrons have worn it in two braids; eld women's hanging loose, confined by a band above the forehead, in either case it is carefully parted in the middle. Men, in contrast, seem to have given considerable attention to their hair. Formerly the young men often wore a lock of hair down over the forehead to the tip of the nose. Others braided it into a long que behind. Nowadays, the old men continue to wear their hair in braids, which are carefully tended. Many older men and women still paint their face usually with red earth pigment, while some women use it to trace the part of their hair. Formerly the face and arms of both men and women were occasionally tattooed with simple designs.

In the division of labor the men hunted, fought, cared for the herds and made weapons. It was considered a disgrace for a man to carry wood or water, put up lodge pole, use a travois or cook food at home. These tasks were performed by the women, who also dressed the skins, made their own clothes and most of those used by men. They made most of their own utensils and gathered wild roots and berries. While the men usually did the butchering, the meat on arriving at the lodge became the property of the women.

The Blackfeet tribes were each divided into a number of social units, called bands, which were named after some peculiarity common to the group as a whole. Among the band names of the Piegan were; "Lone-Fighters, Don't Laugh, Black-Patched-Moccasin, etc." Long ago it apparently was forbidden to marry within one's band, but this has been relaxed for many years. A wife was considered to belong to her husband's band as were the couple's children. At times, however, a man would join his wife's band, providing the material and social advantages were greater there.

In the large summer camps the men's societies were subject to the orders of the head chief, and such occasions seemed to have exercised the functions of the head men of the bands. When such camps were formed the head men of the bands were merged into a council and the societies became their executive and police agents under direction of the head chief. The head chief gave out orders for making and breaking camp, and rules and punishments were announced. Thus a man found running buffalo with out orders might have his clothes torn off, be deprived of his arms, and his horse's ears and tail cropped. Should he resist, he might be quirted and his hair cropped. His lodge and personal property might be destroyed. However, these were extreme measures, it being regarded as best to get along by persuasion.



Girls were closely watched among the Blackfeet and were usually married soon after puberty. Young men, unless they had distingquished war records, were not permitted to marry until some years later. It was customary for young men to wait along the paths leading to water or wood gathering places in order to talk with their sweethearts. Such casual acquaintances sometimes led to permanent unions——the girl simply accompanying her lover to his parents' lodge. Usually, negotiations were carried on between the fathers of the couple or between the father and his prospective son—in—law. If successful, the next step was the exchange of presents, inasmuch as the preferred mode of marriage was by purchase. Thus the bridegroom was expected to give horses and other gifts to the bride's parents, and though presents were often sent with the bride the bridegroom must return at least two-fold.

The formal marriage ceremony was simple---the couple taking their places in the lodge and assuming immediately their domestic life. There were no restrictions as to the number of wives a man might have. Economic conditions were such, however, that many men kept but a single wife. A few ventured to support as many as five wives. Normally the first wife was the real or head wife ("she who sits beside him"). The sisters of a wife were spoken of as "distant wives." If a man proved to be a good husband, he might be given the "distant wives" in turn, though there was no compulsion.

A mutual taboo of avoidance existed between a man and his mother-in-law. He could not look at her or even speak to her. The same restriction was binding upon her. Each was warned by a third person if about to enter a lodge where the other was present. If either of-fended, he or she must make a small present to the other. There were specially accepted ways however, to remove the taboo.

Practically all relatives by marrying the Blackfeet were forbidden the least reference to sexual matters. Thus a man would not relate obscene tales of Old Man in the presence of his brothers-in-law nor their immediate relatives. A curious exception to the above was that a man and his "distant wives" were expected to engage in bold and obscene jests about sexual matters. It would seem as though these women were thus placed in the category of real wives.

Divorce apparently was uncommon as it was looked upon not only as disgraceful but expensive. The chief grounds for divorce from the man's stand-point were laziness and adultery. For these or other causes a man could turn out his wife, who then returned to her relatives until another marriage could be arranged. In some cases women who committed adultery had their nose cut off. A women in the case of cruelty or neglect might abandon her husband. The latter's



family opened negotiations and attempted to bring about a reconciliation. The wife either agreed to another trial or could seek another husband.

When the child was several weeks old, the father selected and paid some prominent person, usually a man, to give it a name. The namer asked to have a sweat house built, which he entered often in company with the father and his friends. Prayers were there offered by the namer. The name conferred may have been based upon a valorous deed of the namer, such as Takes The Shield, or it could have been that of some long dead person of great distinction, such as Little Dog. It was believed that the name carried with it some power to promote the well being of the child upon whom it was bestowed. Thus if the child turned out to be sickly, its name was changed. Men often assumed new names, usually in commemoration of a worthy deed. Nicknames, often of a derogatory nature, were frequently given and often superseded the true name.

Adoption was quite prevalent among the Blackfeet and was marked by a simple ceremony. Persons of any age or nationality could be adopted into a family. Formerly a man losing a son might adopt a young man from his own or other bands, or even a captive to fill the vacant place. From the first, children are taught to respect all the taboos of the family medicine bundles. Boys were taught by their fathers to shoot the bow and arrow, to hunt and to ride and care for the herds. Girls at an early age were taught their household duties by mothers and grandmothers. Friendships often developed among the boys as intimate as relations between brothers, and lasted into adult years. There seemed to have been no ceremonies at puberty for either sex.

When all hope for a sick person was given up, he was painted and dressed in his best costume. Formerly, when a person died in



the skin lodge, it was used as a burial lodge or abandoned, as the Blackfeet believe the ghost of the deceased haunts the spot. Now, one near death is occasionally taken from a house or lodge, so that it may not be necessary to tear down the building. After death the body was wrapped in a blanket or robe and within a few hours was placed upon a scaffold within a tree or upon a hill. Now the Blackfeet bury their dead in the ground. Weapons and pipes were buried with warriors; root-diggers and cooking utensils with women. At death there was great mourning among the women, who gashed their legs and often their arms. Their hair was cut short, a practice often followed by men. The earlier Blackfoot believed that the deceased's ghost traveled to the spirit world, called the Sand Hills. There the dead were said to live like human beings, have lodges, horses and other possessions. Everything that had been buried with a person was taken to the Sand Wills. In former times it was customary to bury the dead with plenty so that the ghost would not be in need later. Chosts are still much feared by the Blackfoot.

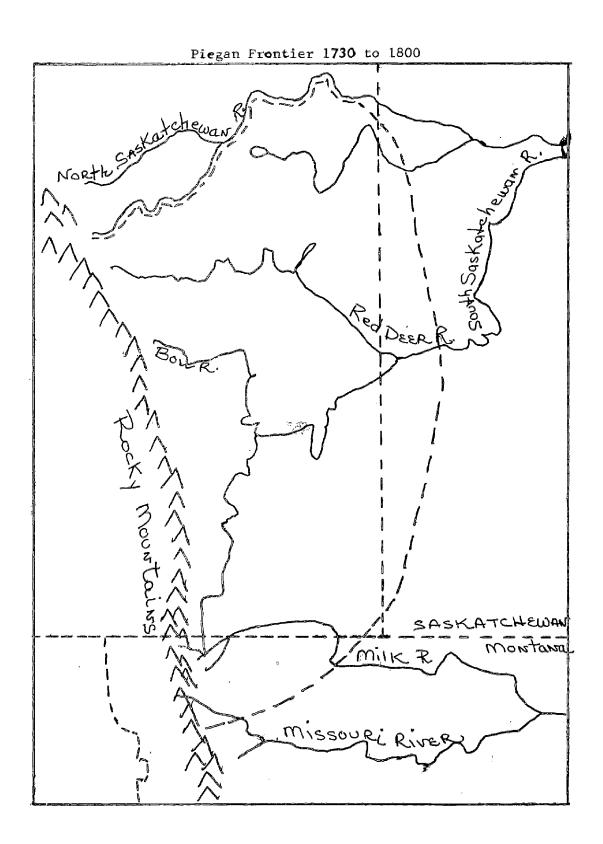
It was the aim of every Blackfoot to establish relationship with this devine power of the universe. Native belief held that if one followed the correct formula, the power would appear in some human or animal form and make a compact with the individual for good fortune during his lifetime. Usually a youth put himself in the hands of a native priest, who instructed him to pray and fast in a solitary spot until a dream or vision was obtained. This experience resulted in the conferring of an object such as a feather, shell, skin, etc. to be carried and used as charms. The Blackfeet made extraordinary use of these charms or tokens—several of which formed a little medicine bundle. A man rarely engaged in any serious undertaking without appealing to these spiritual tokens.

In addition to these small, personal charms, there are more pertentious bundles of sacred objects, which were seldom opened and only used upon certain solemn occasions. The best known of this type, perhaps, was the Medicine-pipe bundle, which was opened at the sound of the first thunder in the spring. Even larger and equally as important was the Beaver Bundle, which appears to have been associated with tobacco planting and the calling of the buffalo. Painted lodges, decorated with designs, were each associated with distinct rituals and a bundle with accessories. Men's headdresses and costumes of unusual types, as well as unique types of weapons, also acquired the status of medicine bundles. A special development characteristic of the Blackfeet was the buying and selling of these bundles by individuals at handsome sums. Much of the social life of these people centered about the transfer of these spiritual properties, with the appropriate songs, prayers, dances, feasts, etc.



The Sun Dance was the most important ceremony among the Blackfeet. It was held nearly every year in August for a period from seven to ten days. The performance was initiated by a woman who vowed to give it as a sacrifice in return for a prayer in time of great danger. During several days of preliminary observances the people moved in stages to the Sun Dance site, the sacred woman began her fast, the buffalo tongues were cut, and each day the hundred willow sweathouse was built. On the fifth day the sun pole was erected, the dance lodge built, the sun dance bundle opened, prayers and offerings made to the sun, the virtous women made their declarations and the sacred woman concluded her fast. The concluding period was devoted to the rites of the weather dancers, the dancing of the societies, the blessing of the medicine pipes and finally, the breaking of camp. The medicine man was one who had received important visions and exhibited the supernatural power this acquired. Some were thought to have been invulnerable, or at least, to have possessed unusual ability to recover from wounds. Many were skilled in slight of hand and used this ability to impress people. In general, their powers and functions differed according to their visions. Some with special powers for raiding and warfare, were much sought after by youths anxious to distinguish themselves. Still others specialized in divination and prophecy. Certain shamans devoted themselves to the curing of disease. The common modes of treatment included; hot applications, bleeding, poultice, lancing and sucking out the offending cause through a reed. Disease was attributed to the malevolent act of a ghost or the violation of a taboo.







#### FROM PEDESTRIANS TO HORSEMEN

It is a curious fact that the Blackfeet and neighboring tribes of the Northwest began to feel the influence of Europeans in North America long before they met white men. European horse reached the Blackfeet country more than a generation before the first white traders appeared. Spanish exploreres brought horses to this continent early in the 16th century. As the Spaniards pushed northward from Mexico and established themselves in the Southwest in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, they brought with them sizable herds of horses and bred them in the area around Santa Fe. During the 17th century some of the Indians of the southwest plains began to use horses. Horses passed northward from tribe to tribe through trade or theft, and it was not long after 1700 that some of the neighbors of the Blackfeet to the south and west secured some of these animals. The Blackfeet probably saw their first horses in the possession of the Shoshoni who began to use some horses effectively in their wars with the Piegan. The Blackfeet probably obtained their first horse from the Shoshoni soon thereafter.

Something of the Blackfeet reaction to the new animal is still retained in their word for horse---ponokami ta (elk-dog). The horse is about the size of an elk but used in transportation like they had used the dog.

The acquisition of horses brought a startling change in Black-feet life. Here was a new animal they could ride. The Blackfeet no longer needed to be plodding footmen. The horse literally lifted the Indian off his feet and placed him astride a tractable animal that could move as fast as the fleetest buffalo or faster. The Indians found they could make larger travoises, attach them to horses, and enable whole villages to move faster, farther, and with heavier loads than before.

In acquiring horses the Blackfeet found possessions that were valuable because of their great usefulness in hunting, in moving camp, and în war. Their supply of horses was limited, by the number they could obtain from other tribes to the south and west. These tribes were not satisfied with the number of horses in their possession, either. Hence, it was impossible for the Blackfeet to obtain horses in quantity through peaceful means. The alternative was to take them by force or by stealth. Horse raiding against the Kutenai, Flathead, and Shoshoni became a common mode of warfare, and it remained so until after the extermination of the buffalo in the 1880's.



The introduction of the horse resulted in the growth of a new and important industry among the Blackfeet. The horse industry included in its scope the acquisition, training, feeding, breeding, caring, and protecting of horses, and the manufacture of horse equipment. It is remarkable how eagerly the Blackfeet took to this new industry. By the time the first white men began to write about the Blackfeet, these Indians had a considerable number of horses. They were riding them and managing them as if they had always been acquainted with these lively beasts.



#### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Blackfeet is very simple. The three tribes acknowledged a blood relationship with each other, and while distinct, still considered themselves a nation. In this confederation it was understood that there should be no war against each other. However, between 1860 and 1870, when the whiskey trade was in its height, the three tribes were several times at sword point on account of drunken brawls. Once, about sixty or seventy years ago, the Bloods and Piegans had a quarrel so serious that men were killed on both sides and horses stolen; yet this was hardly a real war, for only a part of each tribe was involved, and the trouble was not of long duration.

Each one of the Blackfeet tribes is subdivided into gentes, a gens being a body of consanguineal kindred in the male line. It is noteworthy that the Blackfeet, although Algonquins, have this system of subdivision, and it may be that among them the gentes are of comparatively recent date. No special duties are assigned to any one gens, nor has any gens, any special "medicine" or "totem."

Following is a list of the gentes of the Piegans (Pikuni); Blood People, White Breasts, Dried Meat, Black Patched Moccasins, Blackfat Roasters, Early Finished Eating, They Don't Laugh, Fat Roasters, Black Doors, Lone Eaters, Skunks, Seldom Lonesome, Obstinate, Lone Fighters, Small Robes, Big Topknots, Worm People, Small Brittle Fat, Buffalo Dung, No Parfleche, Kill Close By, All Chiefs, Red Round Robes, and Many Medicines.

It can readily be seen from the translations of the above that each gens takes its name from some peculiarity or habit it is supposed to possess.



## BLACKFEET SOCIETIES (SINOPAIX-KIT-FOXES)

None of the dances of this society have been given in the last twenty-five years. It was one of the old societies and had this origin: The Blackfeet once went on a war expedition against the Snakes. When they reached the Yellowstone country, a man named Elk Tongue decided to turn back. After he left the expedition, he came to a prairie dog village where he saw two Kit-foxes run ahead of him for a short distance and then disappear in a hole. He sat down near the hole to rest for he was very tired after his long, hard journey, and he fell asleep. He dreamed that a Kit-fox came out and invited him to go inside. In his vision he followed the little fox into a den where he found the chief of the foxes with his mate seated beside him. They were kind to him and finally explained to him their dance and showed him how to dress for it. They instructed him to get a fox skin and to carry it with him as his medicine---always wearing it on his back. The Fox Chief told Elk Tongue: "When you return to your people, gather some of the young men together and form the society of Kit foxes. Instruct the members to dress and to dance just as we have taught you. If you will do these things and not kill any more foxes, all of your members will have good fortune and long life. If any of you should harm a fox, it will surely bring misfortune."

The Blackfeet used to trap foxes, but after this society was formed, the members did not allow their children to injure a fox.

## SOCIETY OF MOSQUITOES (TSIN-KSI-SIX)

There was once a man who was thickly surrounded by mosquitoes. They stung him so badly that he wondered if they could kill him. Removing his clothes he lay upon the ground. The mosquitoes quickly covered him and bit him so severly that he lost all feeling. In this condition he dreamed that a mosquito came to him saying: "Because you have been generous and have allowed us to drink our fill from your body, we give you the Mosquito society and dance, and we make you its chief."

# SOCIETY OF DOVES (KUKO)

This society was originated in recent years among the South Piegans. The society originated in the dream of an old man named Change Camp. When the doves gave him the dance, they said to him:



"Gather together a band of people of power in the tribe. If they band together, they will become strong and every one else will fear them." They carried bows and arrows made of sarvis berry wood. Their quivers were made of the yellow skin of buffalo calves. They striped and painted their bodies for their dance. The doves were mean and cowardly and had no regard for anyone; all feared them. The head chief, and even the powerful societies, over-looked their mean actions and excused them; it was dangerous to oppose them.

## BUFFALO SOCIETY (MUTO KA IKS)

The Muto Ka Iks is composed entirely of women. Their dances are continued even to this day among the Bloods. The women assemble clothed in the costumes of their society. They wear robes and headdresses of soft tanned buckskin. There are four leaders, called "Snake Medicine Hats," with bonnets of eagle feathers. One of these, Lodge Pole by name, is chief. Four more, wearing bonnets of hawk feathers, are called "Hawk Medicine Hats." Two others, called "Old Bulls" wear head dresses with red plumes fastened to the horns.

# SOCIETY OF MAD DOGS (KNUT SOME TAIX)

This society is also called Crazy Dogs. Two prominent Gros Ventre chiefs who killed enemies in battle, by riding over them with their horses, were the founders. The society of Mad Dogs was secured from the Gros Ventres by the Blackfeet through O mis taipo kah. One of the most influential of the Gros Ventre societies had refused to accept Wolf Skin Around His Neck as a member. He was so angry with them that, in retaliation, he disclosed the secrets and mysteries of the Mad Dog society, of which he was one of the founders, to O mis taip o kah, head chief of the Blackfeet. The Mad Dogs formerly had great power because they were composed of chiefs who had earned a reputation for bravery and everyone feared to act in opposition to them.

## SOCIETY OF BRAVE DOGS ( THE MUTSAIX)

Red Blanket lay down to sleep and the spirit of his lost dog came to him saying: "I am giving this dance here tonight in behalf of a poor mother and her six little boy dogs. They were left behind when camp moved, and I am trying to help them. If you feel sorry for this unfortunate mother and her children, carry them with you and save their lives. We will show you our dance and when you



return again to camp, you can make use of it to found a dog society." Their bodies were painted white and they had yellow stripes across the nose and eyes. A Brave Dog must always face the enemy no matter how much he feared them.

Men did not join the Blackfeet societies for pleasure, but to fulfill vows, generally made because of sickness or for some remarkable escape from danger. The leading societies ruled the camp and helped the chiefs administer public discipline. They protected the tribes' sources of food and secured equal opportunities for all. They strictly enforced the rule that private advantages must be surrendered to the public good. Under the exercise of such police regulations and the enjoyment by all of equal rights and a joint ownership of game and lands, no individual could claim or enjoy special privileges. The societies compelled everyone to submit to their rule, but they never annoyed or interfered with people who obeyed their commands.



### AT WAR AND PEACE WITH AMERICAN FUR TRADERS 1805-1855

By 1880 the Blackfeet had been trading directly with white men for a generation. This trade was carried on in what is now Canada at what the people of the United States referred to as "British Posts." The fact that all these posts were located within the present provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan tended to hold the villages of the three Blackfeet tribes in the north. However, they sent out war parties for hundreds of miles southward to be gone for months and perhaps never to return. Meanwhile French and Spanish traders moved up the Missouri River from St. Louis. They became acquainted with a number of the tribes southeast of the Blackfeet on the Missouri. It is doubtful if they reached as far up that river as the present state of Montana.

In 1803 there occurred an event that was destined profoundly to affect Blackfeet history. In that year the United States purchased Louisiana, a vast area of Indian country between the Mississippi and the Rockies. On March 10, 1804, in a formal ceremony at St. Louis, Upper Louisiana, embracing the valley of the Missouri and its tributaries, was transferred to the United States by France. Much of this area, including the entire Upper Missouri country, was little known to United States authorities. To explore the northwestern portion of this new United States acquisition, a party under the joint leadership of Lewis and Clark set up the Missouri shortly after the transfer ceremony. The party wintered at the Mandan villages in present North Dakota. In the spring and early summer they followed the Missouri River, across the present state of Montana, to its headwaters. They crossed the Rockies, continued on to the Pacific Ocean, wintered near the ocean, and returned eastward in 1806. The party split into two sections on the return trip across the present Montana. Clark explored the valley of the Yellowe stone. Lewis took a more northly course down the Missouri, with an eventful side trip up the Marias. On their outward journey the party met no Blackfeet, but on the return Lewis' exploration of the Marias was cut short by an unfortunate conflict with a small party of Piegan warriors on or near the present Blackfeet Reservation. Two Piegan were killed, and the Lewis party hastened southeastward in fear of retaliation by a larger hostile force.

The return of Lewis and Clark to St. Louis with accounts of the rich fur country of the Upper Missouri served to focus the new attention of St. Louis merchants on this new and unexploited field. In the spring of 1807, Manuel Lisa, at the time the most enterprising trader in St. Louis, led an expedition up the Missouri. With him



went George Drouillard who had been an interpreter and sign talker of the Lewis and Clark party. Enroute they met John Colter, another Lewis and Clark man, who had gained added experience in the Montana area trading and trapping on his own in the winter of 1806-1807. Lisa induced Colter to join his party. It was probably the advice of these two men that caused Lisa to turn south at the mouth of the Yellowstone to the country of the Crow Indians, hated enemies of the Blackfeet. The party began the construction of a post at the mouth of the Bighorn in Crow country late in the year.

The Blackfeet must have been aware of this movement of white traders into the country of the Crow. They naturally concluded that the newcomers were allies of their enemies and were furnishing the Crow firearms to use against the Blackfeet. American traders soon learned that the finest beaver country was farther west, near the headwaters of the Missouri. They found this country frequently used by large parties of hostile Blackfeet. The Americans sought to open peaceful negotiations with the Blackfeet, with no success. They also sought to trap by stealth around the Missouri headwaters, working at night end hiding out during the day. Such operations intensified the hatred of the Blackfeet. Parties of trappers were cleverly ambushed by large Blackfeet parties, who killed as many trappers as possible, relieved them of their packs of furs and equipment, and took their booty to the British Posts where they carried on a profitable trade in stolen goods. After a few encouters with the Blackfeet many trappers were ready to leave the country to the Indians. The more courageous employees of Lisa's Missouri Fur Company carried on until the spring of 1811. By that time they were convinced that trapping was too risky a business; the Americans withdrew from the Montana region.

Thus the Blackfeet won their first round with the men of the American fur trade. Undoubtedly they lost a good many men in their fights with traders, but they remained in possession of the field. The Blackfeet had a high reputation of fighting skills. Because of their reputation an army enginering group of more than sixty men bound from St. Louis to the Pacific Coast in 1811 preferred to move overland, farther south, rather than pass up the Missouri through the Blackfeet country as they originally planned.

A decade passed before Americans again attempted to seek beaver in the Blackfeet country. They once more preferred to begin operations among the friendly Crow and to work northward and westward into the country of the dreaded Blackfeet. On the last day of May, 1823, a large Blackfeet war party, estimated at 400 warriors, ambushed a trading party in a narrow pass, killed the leaders and several others, took nearly all their property, and sold the furs at British Posts.



Once more the Americans had enough of the Blackfeet and abandoned operations in Montana

The Blackfeet south of the international boundary (which had been placed at the 49th parallel from the Great Lakes to the Rockies by agreement between Great Britain and the United States in 1816) remained relatively free of the hated Americans until 1830. A few adventurous fur trappers attempted to obtain beaver in the country of Blackfeet, but it was a very poor business. George Catlin met one of the trappers at Fort Union in 1832. He had made seven trapping trips westward. Five times the Blackfeet had robbed him of his furs, horses and equipment. He considered that he was lucky to have escaped with his life and he was more than ready to call it quits.



# THE BAKER MASSACRE (Story told in exact words and phrasing)

This story is teld by Bear Head, one of the survivors of this great massacre. Bear Head told this story so the whites could know the truth about the terrible wrong that Eugene M. Baker and his troop of cavalry and mounted infantry from Fort Shaw did. They massacred nearly all of a large camp of the Pikunis on the Marias River in January, 1870.

In the Berries Ripe Moon (July) as agreed upon, all the bands of our tribe gathered at Four Persons' Butte (Milk-Teton River) for our **sacred**-vow women to build, as they did every summer, a sacred lodge for Sun. There with Mountain Chief's band was Owl Child, whom we had not seen since he killed my father.

My mother, first to see him, come hurrying back into our lodge and said: "That dog-face, that bad Owl Child is across the circle. All dressed up and proudly walking around." And with that she cried; my almost-mothers and my almost-sisters cried; and I took up my many-shots gun and said that I would go and kill him. Mothers and sisters, they seized me; took my gun from me; said that I should not attempt it for I might be killed, I their only support, and then what would become of them?

"But when I grow up, I surely will put an end to him, my father's killer," I said, and meant it.

On that first day of our getting together to build the lodge for Sun, it was told all through our great camp that Owl Child had been struck and knocked down by Four Bears, a white man married to Kahkokimah Ahki (Cutting-off-Head Woman) of our tribe, and that Owl Child was now saying that he would soon go back up to Wolf-Also-Jumped Creek to kill the man. Four Bears had made love to his (Owl Child's) wife, tried to get her to leave him; then had beaten him when he was unarmed. For that, Four Bears must die.

Four Bears (Malcolm Clark) had been a West Point cadet. Dismissed from the Academy for gross infractions of its rules, he had entered the service of the American Fur Company on the Upper Missouri River, remaining with it until it went out of business in 1864. He had then taken to ranching on Wolf Creek, near where the Fort Benton-Helena wagon road crossed the stream. He is said to have been a man of violent temper and ruthless disposition.



All of our bands kept in frequent communication with one another and so in time we got some bad news. It was that Mountain Chief's band had gone to Many-Houses (Fort Benton) to trade, and there some drunken white men---Grouse, Night Watcher (Henry Kennerly), Real White Man (Peter Lukins), and others---had, without cause for it, hanged Heavy-Charging-in-the Brush and had shot and killed Bear Child and Rock-Old-Man, three prominent members of the band. That made us feel very sad, very angry. We decided to trade no more at Many-Houses.

It was not long after the murder of our three men at Many-Houses that visitors brought us more news: Owl Child, leading a few of his friends, had gone up to Wolf-Also-Jumped Creek and had himself killed Four Bears. I was present when Heavy Runner and other leading ones of our band got together to talk about it. They agreed that Owl Child had been justified in killing him. Much as I hated Owl Child for killing my father, I had to admit that he had had good right to kill this fire-hearted, quarrel-some, white man.

In Falling Leaves Moon (September) we moved back across Big River, and were camped on Two Medicine Lodges River when winter came. A white man called "Big Nose" (Hiram Baker), who had come with a wagonload of cartridges, and other things to trade for our buffalo robes and furs, told that the whites were more and more angry about the killing of Four Bears, and were trying to get their seizers (soldiers) to make a big killing of our tribe and so avenge his death. However, the seizer chiefs (army officers) seemed not to listen to their demand. Our chiefs talked over that news and thought little of it. As Heavy Runners said, the killing of Four Bears did not concern us. If the whites wanted to get revenge for it, they should kill Owl Child.

As the winter wore on the buffalo herds drifted farther and farther away from the mountains, and we had to follow them or starve. We moved down to the mouth of Two Medicine Lodges River; then in Middle-Winter Moon (January), moved down on Bear River and camped in a bottom that Mountain Chief's band had just left, they going a little way farther down the river. It was an unhappy time: the whites had given us of their terrible white-scabs disease (smallpox), and some of our band were dying. One evening I arranged to go on a bunt with a number of our band. We were to travel light, take only two lodges to accommodate us all; my mother and one of my sisters were to go with me to help with my kills. Came morning and I set out for my horses; could not find them on the plain, so I went into the timbered bottoms of the valley in late afternoon. The hunting party had gone when I returned.



On the following morning I found my horses in the timber well above camp and was nearing it with them when, suddenly, I ran into a multitude of white men; seizers. I was so astonished, so frightened, that I could not move. One of the seizers came and grasped my arm; spoke; tapped his lips with his fingers: I was not to speak, shout. He was a chief, this seizer, had strips of yellow metal on his shoulders, had a big knife, a five-shots pistol. He made me advance with him; all of the seizers were advancing. We came to the edge of the camp; close before us were the lodges. Off to our right were many more seizers looking down upon them. It was a cold day. The people were all in their lodges, many still in their beds. None knew that the seizers had come.

A seizer chief up on the bank shouted something, and at once all of the seizers began shooting into the lodges. Chief Heavy Runner ran from his lodge toward the seizers on the bank. He was shouting to them and waving a paper writing that our agent had given him, a writing saying that he was a good and peaceful man, a friend of the whites. He had run but a few steps when he fell, his body pierced with bullets. Inside the lodges men were yelling; terribly frightened women and children, screaming---screaming from wounds, from pain as they died. I saw a few men and women, escaping from their lodges, shot down as they ran. Most terrible of all was the crying of little babies at their mothers' breasts. The seizers all advanced upon the ladges, my seizer still firmly holding my arm. They shot at the tops of the lodges; cut the bindings of the poles so the whole lodge would collapse upon the fire and begin to burn. Within it my mother, my almost-mothers, my almostsisters. Oh, how pitiful were their screamings as they died, and I there, powerless to help them.

Soon all was silent in the camp, and the seizers advanced, began tearing down the lodges that still stood, shooting those within them who were still alive, and then trying to burn all that they tore down, burn the dead under the heaps of poles, lodge-skins, and lodge furnishings; but they did not burn well.

At last my seizer released my arm and went about with his men looking at the smoking piles, talking, pointing, laughing, all of them. And finally the seizers rounded up all of our horses, drove them up the valley a little way, and made camp.

I sat before the ruin of my lodge and felt sick. I wished that the seizers had killed me, too. In the center of the fallen lodge, where the poles had fallen upon the fire, it had burned a little, then died out. I could not pull up the lodge-skin and look



under it. I could not bear to see my mother, my almost-mothers, my almost-sisters lying there, shot or smothered to death. When I went for my horses, I had not carried my many-shots gun. It was there in the ruin of the lodge. Well, there it would remain.

From the timber, from the brush around about, a few old men, a few women and children came stealing out and joined me. Sadly we stared at our ruined camp; spoke but little; wept. Wailed wrinkled old Black Antelop: "Why, oh, why had it to be that all of our warriors, our hunters, had to go out for buffalo at this time. But for that some of the white seizers would also be lying here in death."

"One was killed. I saw him fall," I said.

"Ah. Only one seizer. And how many of us? Mostly women and children; newborn babies. Oh, how cruel, how terribly cruel are the white men," old Curlew Woman wailed.

Said old Three Bears: "We had warning of this. That white trader, Big Nose, told us the whites were going to revenge the killing of Four Bears by Owl Child. But why didn't they seek him, kill him, instead of slaughtering us here, we always friendly with the whites?"

That Owl Child---he had killed my father, and now he was the cause of my mother's and all my womenfolks' lying dead under their half-burned lodges. Well, as soon as possible, I would kill him, I vowed.

That night the white seizers did not closely watch the hundreds of horses that they had taken from us. We managed to get back about half of the great herd and drive them down to Mountain Chief's camp. During the day our buffalo hunters returned. With many horses loaded with meat and hides, they came singing, laughing, down into the valley, only to find their dear ones dead under their ruined lodges.

As best we could we buried our dead---a terrible, grieving task it was---and counted them; fifteen men, ninety women, fifty children. Forty-four lodges and lodge furnishings destroyed and hundreds of our horses stolen.

And to this day I deeply regret that I had no opportunity to fulfill my vow: even then Owl Child had the terribe white-scabs, disease, and a few days later he died.



#### BAKER MASSACRE

During our civil war even the state of peaceful savagery into which the Blackfeet had lapsed was disturbed. The troubles with the Sioux prevented the Blackfoot annuities from reaching their destination. The tribes fell out among themselves and fought one another. The Sun River Farm, as the agricultural experiment in their country was called, fell into decay, but the agency farmer made a comfortable living by keeping hotel and trading with the Indians. The gold discoveries of 1862-63 attracted a large white population to the southern borders of the Blackfoot country, and the new comers furnished the Indians with all the whiskey they would pay for. There was still no war with the whites, who ran through the country at will, without molestation.

In the fall of 1865 Agent Upson made a new treaty with the Sakitapix, (Blackfeet), which was never ratified. The Indians, it was claimed, had gone to war before the treaty reached Washington. There was not, in fact, any war, except one between the Piegans and Gros Ventres, resulting from reciprocal horse-stealing. There were no troops in the country to protect any one or enforce any order. The better class of whites formed a vigilance committee to protect themselves against both white and Indian marauders. The Gros Ventes had preserved a closer intimacy with the whites than the Piegans had, and in January two white men, who happened to be in company with Gros Ventres, were killed by Piegans. In April, 1866, a party, supposed to be north Piegans, burned the buildings at the Sun River Farm. In June, 1866, Little Dog, head chief of the Piegans, who had labored faithfully to preserve peace, returned to the Indians agent twelve horses that had been stolen from the whites. As he was returning to his camp he was ambushed by some of his own warriors, and he and his son were killed.

The Indians, with their usual improvidence, had made no adequate preparations for the winter of 1866-67. They suffered much from want in that season. Consequently, they were in a more peaceable condition in the following year. Both military and Indian authorities, after investigating the situation in 1867, pronounced the apprehensions of war to be without foundation, which was true enough then. People were traveling the road from Helena to Fort Benton, and thence to Cow Island without being troubled in the least. There was a party of ten emigrants killed in that year, but within the British line, and by Bloods. The fact is that no considerable portion of the Blackfeet Nation had been hostile to the whites since 1853 nor at any subsequent period. In 1867 the Gros Ventres were separated from the Blackfoot Nation and placed with the River Crows, where they have since remained.



The years 1867-68 passed with a peaceful condition of affairs in the Blackfoot Nation. The whiskey-trade flourished at Fort Benton as it had never flourished before. Some of the Bloods and Blackfeet stole horses and sold them to the Hudson's Bay Company, but the southern bands returned many stolen horses to the whites, so that a reasonable balance was preserved. Three annual appropriations of \$7,000 each were made under the treaty of 1865, and in the fall of 1868 another treaty was made, which was not ratified. However, for several years appropriations of \$50,000 were made for the education and civilization of the Blackfeet Nation. As far as subsistence was concerned, they were to be taking care of themselves, but in reality what little they received was in supplies. The law-less part of the white population continued to act in a way that would bring on war if the Indians had any spirit. After signing the treaty in 1868, the Piegans were at Fort Benton. Two white men assaulted and shot at Mountain Chief, principal chief of the tribe. The assault and shooting produced a very angry feeling among the Piegans. Special Commissioner Cullen tried to have these men arrested, but, rather than take any part in such an unusual proceeding, the sheriff and justice of the peace at that point resigned their offices. Shortly thereafter, the Indians stole eighty horses, resulting in the seizure of eighteen Piegans by Cullen and their being held until the horses were returned. An attempt to enforce the intercourse laws was repressed in a most effective way. The principal witness, who had been subpoenaed to testify in the matter of seizure of two bales of buffalo robes that had been purchases with whiskey, was followed by men from Fort Benton and hung until he was nearly dead. In consideration, he agreed to leave the country in silence.

The year 1869 was ushered in with a bad state of feeling, produced by the evil deeds of bad men on both sides. The bad feeling grew worse during the summer. That part of the Indians were stealing horses was not even questioned by the tribes. The chiefs said it was done by men they could not control. Nor could the horses be returned because they had been run off into British America and sold.

This gave the Indians a ready excuse for their misdeeds. In fact nearly all of the horse-stealing occurred after barbarities had been committed by the lawless part of the white society. All the government authorities saw this wrong and tried to have it righted, but the force which was authorized was directed against the Indians, and the settlements were left to purge themselves by natural progress. General Sully, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, wrote, on August 3, 1869: "There is a white element in this country which, from its rowdy and lawless character, cannot be excelled in



any section, and the traffic in whiskey with Indians in this territory is carried on to an alarming extent. This frequently causes altercations between whites and Indians, resulting often in bloodshed; and, as they occur in sections where the civil authorities acknowledge themselves to be powerless to act, nothing but military force can at present put a stop to it."

With these surroundings in view, the rise of the Piegan troubles of 1869 are simple of explanation. The Piegans of Mountain Chief's band, still smarting under the attack on him, were openly hostile. They were aided and abetted by the bands of Bear Chief, Red Horn, and some others. On July 16, 1869, some of these Indians, while stealing horses, killed two white men near Fort Benton. In retaliation the whites there hung two suspected Piegans, and, a few days later, murdered an old man and his nephew, who were generally known to be innocent and inoffensive people. Depredations at once grew numerous. Horses were stolen everywhere. A freight train was attacked on Eagle Creek; one man and twenty oxen were killed before the Indians were driven off with a loss of four warriors. On August 17 great excitement was caused by the murder of Malcolm Clarke and the wounding of his son, at their ranch, twenty miles above Helena. It was reported that the place had been attacked by hostiles, and wild rumors of war prevailed for a time. However, the opinion soon gained ground that the murder was due to a family quarrel. Clarke had married a Piegan woman and was killed by a nephew of hers; Peter, a notorious ruffian of a very quarrelsome disposition. He was shunned by his own people on account of having killed his fatherin-law, Bear's Head, a brother of the Chief, Heavy Runner. There were some twenty Piegans present at the time of the murder. Among them was Pal, a son of Mountain Chief, who, in the melee, shot one of Clare's sons. Another son of Clarke's escaped unharmed. Miss Clarke, an estimable young woman, leaped through a window and fled during the quarrel. Young Clarke, who was left for dead by the Indians, afterwards recovered. The excitement in the settlements cooled down for a time, but flared again in September when James Quail was murdered near Silver City. It was reported at the time that he was scalped and mutilated, and no doubt was entertained that the Piegans were quilty of the crime. Later reports established the untruthfulness of the report of scalping and mutilation. His horse was found near him, and, as it was known that he had a valuable watch and four or five hundred dollars with him, the presumtion arose that he had been murdered by some white men. Still, many believed that the Irdians had committed the crime, and it was reported as talked among the Piegans that a warrior named Little Eagle was the murderer.



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The military authorities had been called on for assistance by the Indian Bureau in both August and October. They investigated carefully at the outset and gave General Sully full opportunities to have the murders surrender and stolen property given up before taking any steps. Within ten days after their return a party of thirty mules was stolen from a government contractor at Dearborn. and the cabin of a wood-chopper near Camp Cooke was robbed; the last resulting in a fight. It was decided to strike the offenders at once, as this could be done without interfering with the peaceable Indians. The Blackfeet were all in British America. The Bloods were in two parties, one across the British line, and one above the Red Coulee, on the Marias. The Piegans were on the same stream but lower down and in separate bands. The hostiles were located at the Big Bend. The camps of Heavy Runner, Big Lake, (Big Leg), Little Wolf, and the Boy were ordered to be left unmolested, as these chiefs had proven themselves friendly. Only the camps of Mountain Chief, Bear Chief, and Red Horn were to be struck. The expedition was put in charge of Colonel E. M. Baker, of the 2nd Cavalry, at Fort Ellis. He left that post on January 6, with four companies of cavalry, and proceeded to Fort Shaw. Here he was reinforced by two companies of mounted infantry, and departed thence to the north on the 19th.

The weather was intensely cold, and, as the success of the expedition depended largely on it secrecy, the marching was done at night after reaching the Teton. On the night of the 20th, the command proceeded to the mouth of Muddy Creek, a tributary of the Teton. On the night of the 21st they marched towards the Big Bend of the Marias but were unable to reach it. They lay all that day in a ravine on the Dry Fork of the Marias and at night marched on again. About eight o'clock on the morning of the 23rd they reached the camp of Bear Chief and Red Horn. The camp was in the valley of the Marias and contained thirty-seven lodges. The attack was a complete surprise. Smallpox had broken out among the Indians, causing them to omit the slight precautions they would have naturally observed even in a secure winter camp. The herd of ponies, over 300 in number, was cut off and secured. 173 Indians, including Red Horn, were killed. Only 9 escaped from the place. All the rest, men, women, and children were either killed or captured. Colonel Baker left Lieutenant Doane with a detachment to destroy Red Horn and Bear Chief's camp and hastened down river in search of Mountain Chief's camp, which was said to be sixteen miles away. Only seven deserted lodges were found. These were destroyed and the command marched to the Northwest Fur Company's post near Red Coulee. The Blood chief's were summoned and required to give up the stolen horses in their possession. The captives that had been taken were released at once when it was learned that smallpox was among them.



The principal point in dispute was the age and sex of the persons killed. The report from the Indians was first received, it having been collected from them by Lieutenant Pease, their agent, and was as follows: "Of the 173 killed on the 23rd, 33 were men; of these, 15 only were such as are called by them young, or fighting, men; these were between the ages of twelve and thirtyseven: the remaining 18 were between the ages of thirty-seven and seventy; 8 of the latter were between the ages of sixty and seventy; 90 were women, 35 between the ages of twelve and thirtyseven, and 55 between the ages of thirty-seven and seventy; the remaining 50 were children, none older than twelve years, and many of them in their mother's arms. Out of 219 belonging to Red Horn's camp, only 46 survived; among them were 9 young men who escaped during the attack, and 5 who were away hunting. The lives of 18 women and 19 children (none of them more than three years of age, and the majority of them much younger), some of whom were wounded, were spared by the soldiers. Red Horn himself was killed. At the time of the attack this camp was suffering severely with smallpox, having had it among them for two months, the average rate of deaths among them having been six daily." The original report of Colonel Baker was limited, in this regard, to the statemen: "The result of the expedition is 173 killed, over 100 prisioners, women and children." He never furnished a detailed report of the sex and age of the killed, such as General Sherman said was "proper and usual," any further than the following, by telegraph: "I am satisfied that the following numbers approximate as nearly to the exact truth as any estimate can possibly be made. That the number killed was 173. Of these there were 120 able men, 53 women and children; that of captives (afterwards released), there were of women and children 140." On February 3, General De Trobriend wrote, presumably from the information he had been able to acquire by that time: "The execution was made against 36 lodges, and there 173 killed; about 100 squaws and pappooses were captured, and, after the action, turned loose unhurt."

It is apparent that both the first and second statements are exaggerated, and probably that the information on which the third was based was somewhat colored. As to the first, if the Indians had been dying at the rate of six a day, for two months, the camp would have been completely depopulated before the troops reached it. As to the second, the estimate of 120 able men, out of a total of 313, is a proportion that was never known to exist in any winter camp in the country. As established by all preceding and succeeding estimates and censuses of the Blackfoot nation, the ordinary proportion of warriors was two to each lodge, a lodge being estimated at seven people.



The variations from this proportion in any recorded enumeration are very slight. We would therefore naturally expect, in a village of 37 lodges, 259 people, of whom 74 would be warriors. Smallpox might have decreased this total to 219, as stated by the Indians, but there is scarcely a possibility that there should have been only 29 fighting men belonging to the band, as stated by them. The fair inference from all considerations, it being remembered that Colonel Baker's statement purports to be an estimate only, and that the examination of a camp in which there was smallpox would probably be brief, is that about 60 of the killed were warriors, and 113 women and children. The number of nominal captives was probably not more than 85.

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### THE BATTLE AT BELLY RIVER

It was late in the fall of 1870. The preceding year small—
pox had swept through the Blackfoot tribes and left in its wake
whole camps of "dead lodges." the mortality being estimated by
competent authorities at forty or fifty per cent. The Crees and
Assiniboines thought this a favorable opportunity to strike a
decisive blow at their powerful enemy and accordingly organized
and dispatched a war party numbering in the neighborhood of six
or eight hundred braves. "Big Bear," "Piepot," "Little Mountain"
and "Little Pine" were among the Cree and Assiniboine chiefs, either
present themselves or represented by their bands, and they were
largely reinforced by the South Assiniboines.

The Blackfeet and Bloods were then camped mainly on Belly River between Kipp and Whoop-up, two whiskey trading posts about twenty miles apart, but the Blackfeet themselves were not numerically strong. The South Piegans were camped on the St. Mary's River above Whoop-up which is the junction of the St. Mary's and Belly Rivers, having been driven to this side of the line by the American Expedition under Colonel Baker. "Big Leg," "Black Eagle," and "Heavy Shield" were their chiefs. "Crow Eagle" led the North Piegans and "Bull Back Fat" and "Button Chief" lead the Bloods. The South Piegans were well armed with repeating rifles, needle guns and revolvers; the Bloods were not as well equiped, while the Crees and Assiniboines had only old muskets, Hudson Bay fukes, and bows and arrows.

The Cree reached the Little Bow, about twenty five miles away, and small parties from the main band, sent horses from small camps around Whoop-up. One night, however, about the 25th of October, the whole band set out and descended on a few lodges about three miles above Whoop-up on the Belly River, killing a brother of "Red Crow," Chief of the Bloods and two or three squaws. The noise aroused the whole Blood camp which was in the immediate vicinity, and in a few minutes their braves were engaging the enemy, while messengers were riding in hot haste to alarm the South Piegans.

The first streaks of dawn had hardly begun to show in the east when the Piegans came up and the fight became general; the Crees slowly retreating across the prairie toward the present site of Lethbridge, and the Blackfoot following. The river banks were reached; the Crees took up their position in a large coulee running up from the river and out on the prairie, while the Piegans, after much difficulty, succeeded in establishing themselves in a shorter



coulee to the south. A large number of Bloods and Blackfeet were in a small coulee to the north, and on the prairie to the north and west, but they found themselves too much exposed, and during the progress of the fight, gradually worked around to the south. The Crees on the whole had the best of the positions.

The Piegans finally got a strong force of braves behind a small butte, which in a measure commanded the Cree coulee. The fire from the Piegans and from their friends in the coulee became hotter and hotter, until the Crees alarmed and began to effect a strategic movement to the rear by slipping out of the coulee and making for the river. At this instant, Jerry Potts, a halfbreed Piegan, who was reconnoitering around the bank of the ridge facing the river perceived this movement and made a sign to his companions in the coulee to charge, and charge they did. Some on horseback, some on foot, they poured over the ridge and down the coulee driving the now panic-stricken Crees before them and killing without quarter. A large number of the latter were forced out of the ravine over the point of a hill to the north. The descent here is some twenty or thirty feet, and almost perpendicular. Over this descent pursuers and pursued both rushed headlong, horses and men tumbling over each other, the men fighting and struggling for dear life, until the bank was reached and the fight became a butchery. The Crees plunged into the current and moved across almost in a solid mass, while the Blackfeet stood on the brink and shot them down like sheep. To use Jerry Potts' expression, "You could fire with your eyes shut and be sure to kill a Cree." The scene now, and during the charge, must have been one not easily forgotten. The river valley was filled with dust and smoke, the air resounded with the report of rifles and the deafening war cries of the Blackfeet, while thick and fast came the death yells of the Crees.

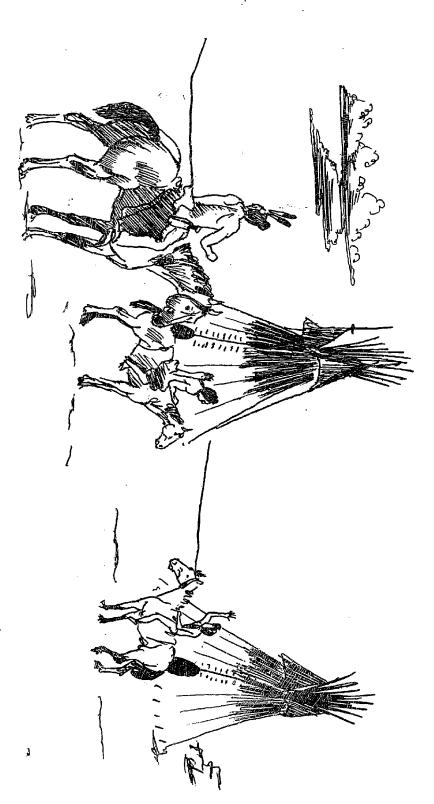
The slaughter did not end at the river. The Blackfeet followed the Crees across, and being joined by a large contingent of their brethern, who had crossed higher up, the butchery went on. At one spot where the Crees made a stand, about fifty of them were killed. It is a matter of fact that in the confusion and excitement of the pursuit, some of the Blackfeet were killed by their own friends, while Crees, mingling with Blackfeet, escaped. Finally the Crees reached a clump of trees immediately in front of the present entrance of the Galt mine and having abandoned most of the horses took refuge there and made a last stand. The Blackfeet collected all the horses and virtually surrounded the place.

Such was the great battle of the fall of 1870. It is difficult to estimate the loss of the Crees, because so many were killed in



the river, but it is certain that it was between two and three hundred. About forty Blackfeet were killed and fifty wounded.

The following year the Crees sent tobacco to the Blackfeet, and in the fall a formal treaty of peace was made between the two nations on the Red Deer River.



Cree and Blackfeet meeting in a spirit of Peace for trading purposes

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# THE STARVATION WINTER OF THE PIEGAN INDIANS 1883-1884

One of the most unfortunate chapters in the history of the Piegan Indians, the southernmost tribe of the Blackfeet Confederacy and the group now living on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana occurred during the winter of 1883-84. These long and tragic months were the culmination of an inevitable process and the opening phase of a new way of life for the Blackfeet. The fact that history demonstrates this could have been anticipated makes doubly tragic its consequences: during these winter months there was acute suffering among the Piegans, as the result of which nearly 600---a quarter of the tribe---died.

This starvation winter was directly caused by the extermination of the buffalo. In 1830, according to a conservative estimate, some forty million bison were grazing the plains of the American West. Forty years later, in spite of constant hunting by both Indian and white, the number remained nearly the same. Then in 1871 a tanning process was developed that could convert hides into a tough and durable leather, suitable for machine belts and the demand for them became insatiable. Twelve years later, the buffalo was virtually extinct, due to unparalleled slaughter.

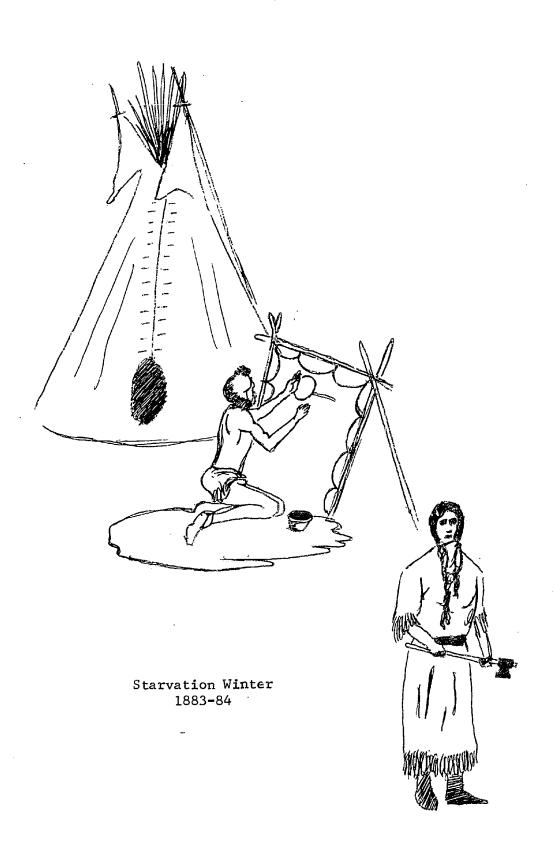
The suddenness of change from a natural bounty to the complete extermination of a traditional food supply and a consequent pattern of life caught all the West unprepared, but its effects were particularly dramatic in this region. In all the Great Plains, the buffalo here, in an area from the Canadian border to the Judith Basin, were the last to go. Although, it became apparent after 1879 that they would not last forever, no flexible plan had been devised in the cumbersome machinery of government to meet this eventuality. Warnings, however, were not lacking.

Each year, after 1880, Agent John W. Young, from his agency then on Badger Creek, a few miles south of the present Browning, drew attention to the situation, with urgency, in his annual reports. He pointed out that because of the scarcity of game, few Indians were going off on the weekly issue of rations. Provision was made for a small herd of cattle and the importance of teaching the Piegan crop-raising was stressed to prepare for a new food supply. The cattle herd was too small, crop conditions discouraging and the time too short to change so drastically the Indians "centuries-old" mode of existence. By 1883 the buffalo were gone and the Piegan became destitute.



Congress had tragically underestimated the necessary appropriations. The supplies sent for in this inaccessible country were discouragingly slow in coming and insufficient in quantity when they did arrive. Agent Young spent a heartbreaking winter freighting in emergency rations and watching his Indians daily grow weaker. He resigned and when his successor, Reuben Allen, arrived in April, 1884, he reported that he saw in a tour of inspection of twenty-eight lodges, only a rabbit cooking in one, and a steer's hoof boiling in a pot in another. During those months 400 died and the Agency carpenter was kept busy building crude wooden coffins which were placed on a slight rise to the south of Old Agency. The Indians came to refer to this dreary elevation as "Ghost Ridge."

Summer brought relief and by the fall of 1884 emergency appropriations had been pushed through Congress and the starvation epidemic brought under control. It was a new era for the Piegans; the buffalo were gone, they were now dependent upon intruding white men for their very existence, they were urged to adopt an unfamiliar agriculture and learn its techniques. The break with their nomadic past was sudden and complete, and the problems of adjusting to the white man's way thrust upon them with confusing finality.





#### TRADING LAND FOR A LIVING

The extermination of the buffalo quickly transformed the strong, mobile, independent Blackfoot Indians into a weak, sedentary, dependent people. They had land; lots of it. Together with the Gros Ventres, Assiniboines, and Sioux, the Piegans in Montana owned a vast tract almost as large as the state of Indiana; extending from the Rockies eastward to present North Dakota. But, of what value was it to them? Hunters could not make a living in an almost gameless land.

When Senator Vest and Delegate Maginnis met the South Piegan Chiefs in council at the Blackfoot Agency on September 25, 1883, they found these Indian leaders willing to exchange land for other things which would enable them to make a living now that the buffalo were gone, Chief Little Dog spoke:

"I want a reservation with the Birch Creek on the south, as now. We like the land near the mountains. On the east you can draw a line from the western end of the Sweet Grass Hills to the Marias River....From that line down to the Bear Paw we have no use for the country. There is no game there.... We don't want to go there. We would rather stay here where there are streams and good land, and where our home lies. The reason I put the line so far east is that I want the people to have a good living---plenty of range for horses and stock. We want the Government to help us."

The other prominent chiefs---White Calf, Three Suns, Little White Cow, and Running Crane---echoed Little Dog's sentiments. Yet nearly three and one-half years passed before a land sale was negotiated and these Indians began to receive the cattle and the equipment they sorely needed to help them make a living on their remaining land.

Meanwhile, the two thousand South Piegans who survived the starvation of 1883-84 settled down within a radius of fifteen miles of their agency and lived from week to week upon the rations given them by their agent. The majority of the old hunting bands settled on Badger Creek. The westernmost settlement, farthest upstream, was that of the Black Door Band, under Chief After Buffalo. It was just east of the present crossing of Badger Creek by the road from Browning to Heart Butte. Downstream, near the site of the first agency on Badger Creek, was the Lone Eater's Band, led by Chief Running Crane. On the north side of the stream opposite the present



Mad Plume School lived a mixed group composed of families from several of the old hunting bands under Big Plum's leadership. Below this group was the large Grease Melters' Band, under the noted Chief Three Suns. Farther dowstream was Chief Little Dogs' Black-Patched Moccasins Band.

Just west of Old Agency, on land now crossed by the high-way from Great Falls to Browning lived the Indians' "white brothers-in-law," the white men who had taken Piegan wives. Below them was the Agency, and near it stood about one hundred log cabins built to house the old people when Old Agency was errected in 1879. The little remnant of the once large and powerful Small Robes Band, led by Chief Lodge Pole, occupied cabins just east of the agency.

About one mile east of the Agency, on a flat south of Badger Creek, was the traders store. Below it were settled the members of the Buffalo Dung Band. Farther downstream were some of the older people of the Black-Patched Moccasins Band, led by Shaggy Bear Chief. It was on the flat south of this band that the Piegans held their first Sun Dance after the buffalo were gone-the first in which cattle tongues were the sacred food.

On downstream was a small, detached group from the Buffalo Dung Band who recognized White Grass as their chief. The east-ernmost band on Badger Creek consisted of a few families all of the members of the Bugs Band who had survived the starvation.

The three remaining Piegar bands resided on Birch Creek along the southern boundary of the reservation. They were the Skunks Band of Head Chief White Calf, the Blood Band led by Fast Buffalo Horse, and the All Chiefs under Chief Horn.

At that time the white men with Indian families, some of the aged Indians near the agency, and a few families elsewhere on Badger and Birch Creeks lived in log cabins. But the majority of the full bloods still resided in tipis the year round. Lacking buffalo cowskins, they covered their tipis with government issue canvas.

Each Friday cattle were butchered at the slaughter house and each Saturday the Indians trekked toward the agency to receive their weekly rations. Each family head carried a cardboard ration ticket bearing his name and the number of persons in his family. One ration was considered a days food for one person, man, woman, or child; therefore a man and wife with three children



were entitled to thirty-five rations a week. The Indians were warned not to lose their precious ration tickets. Some men carried their tickets in little leather cases tied around their necks at the end of skin cords.

When the family head received his rations, a clerk punched his ticket and checked his name off the long printed rations roll of the agency. Meat, always the main item in the Blackfoot diet was rationed at one and one-half pounds per person per day. A daily ration also included one-half pound of flour. Other foodstuffs were distributed in smaller quantities; a pound of bacon for every ten rations; a pound of coffee for every twenty-five rations; and three pounds of beans, eight pounds of sugar, and one pound of soda and salt for every one hundred rations. With every one hundred rations a half-pound of tabacco was issued.

The hides of cattle killed to provide the Indians' meat were given to the Indian women on ration day. In some weeks as many as fifty hides were distributed, never more than half a hide to any woman. The women made rawhide rope and containers from these hides just as they had made similar articles of buffalo hide in earlier days. They also cut moccasin soles from cattle rawhide to make a hard-soled moccasin which was becoming the most popular type of Blackfoot footgear. It wore much longer than the traditional soft-soled moccasin. On the other hand, commercial leather was replacing rawhide for saddle rigging, belts, cartridge cases, and ration ticket pouches.

Since the middle seventies, Blackfoot women's crafts had been under-going marked changes. About the time the Agency was moved northward from the Teton River (1876) some Piegan Indian woman who were married to white men began to employ little glass beads known as seed beads, in their beadwork. These beads were only about half the size of the beads women had been accustomed to use in their embroidery. But they were available in a much wider range of colors. They were sewn to the basic skin or cloth material by taking stitches between every second or third bead, giving the finished beadwork a neat, flat appearance. It wasn't long before other Piegan women were imitating this new style of beadwork. By the middle eighties the earlier "big beads" were rarely employed except in the decoration of women's dresses. The Indian wives of white men have also been credited with introducing new beadwork designs --- fine-line curved motifs and floral patterns. These, too, were admired and copied by most other Blackfoot Indian beadworkers.

So popular had seed beads and the new designs become by the middle eighties that the younger generation of beaders began to lose



interest in porcupine quillwork. Very few girls bothered to learn the quillworker's craft.

Other traditional crafts were becoming decadent for other reasons, Government issue of cheap tin plates, cups, knives, and forks made it unnecessary for the Indians to fashion wooden bowls or horn cups and spoons. The issuance of strong, white men's stock saddles rendered the more picturesque but weaker Indianmade saddles obsolete. The solid colored trade blanket replaced the buffalo robe both as an outer garment and as a bed covering. Not until collectors of ethnologic specimens began to encourage veterans of the inter-tribal wars to record their war deeds on skins (in 1890's) was there a slight revival of the decadent old art of robe painting. However, owners of painted lodges readily transferred their religious symbols from worn buffalo-skin tipi covers to new canvas ones.

For a few years after the buffalo were gone, restless young men continued to raise small war parties to raid enemy camps in quest of horses. In 1881-82 a serious mange epidemic killed many Piegan-owned horses. Agent Young estimated that "about half of the horses these Indians owned died." Young men, set a foot as a result of this plague, redoubled their efforts to obtain mounts in traditional forays against the Crows, Crees, and Assiniboins. But times had changed for horse raiders also. They had to leave home secretly at night to avoid being caught and detained by their own Indian Police. On the outward journeys they could find little to eat. Sometimes they went without food id begged some food from the ranch houses of white They were an. lucky indeed if they could kill an antelop rew rabbits. If they did reach an enemy camp and run off some horses, they risked being overtaken on their way home by troops from Fort Shaw or Fort Assiniboine and having their stolen horses taken from them. Even after they reached home, the horses might be confiscated by the Indian Police.

The "medicine line" continued to serve as a convenient escape hatch for Canadian and American horse raiders, who crossed the line, stole a few Indian or white men's horses, and drove them home. A considerable part of the agents time was spent in hearing complaints of settlers who had been robbed of their horses.

The Blackfeet tribes were not alone in continuing their old pastime of horse raiding. Their old enemies, the Crow Indians, remained very active. In the summer of 1886 they ran off some two to three hundred horses belonging to the Piegans in Montana. Again the following summer, ten Crow Indians stole forty-four Indian



owned horses and two agency owned ones on the Blackfeet Reservation. But the Piegans had adopted a tribal horse brand by means of which the Crow Indian agent could identify and recover a number of the stolen animals.

One of the last Piegan horse raids was also one of their most daring and spectacular ones. White Quiver, the cleverest of all Blackfoot horse thieves, took about fifty horses from the Crow Indians. On his way home he was apprehended by United States authorities, who confiscated the herd. Undismayed, White Quiver restole the horses from the whites and drove them north into Canada. There the Mounted Police took his horses from him. But White Quiver refused to give up. He recaptured most of the Crow horses from the vigilant "Red Coats" and drove them back across the border to his Montana home.

Horse raiding virtually ended in 1887. In his annual report that summer, Agent Baldwin stated that "not a single instance of horse stealing has occurred during the past year." Nevertheless, as late as August 17, 1892, the notorious White Quiver stood trial before the Court of Indian Offenses on charges of horse stealing. The brief record of the proceedings noted: "White Quiver, having turned over to Little Dog, Captain of Police, the four horses alleged to have been stolen from the Crow Indians, the Court released him for lack of sufficient evidence."

Like many another war veteran, White Quiver had difficulty adjusting to the monotony of peacetime living. Police records show that he was repeatedly arrested and jailed for drunkenness until, in 1897, this very able man to given a sergeant's uniform and enrolled in the Indian Police.

For four long years the hapless Piegans remained huddled together in their little band camps on Badger and Birch Creeks on the far southern portion of their huge reservation. Their economic progress was painfully slow, slower in fact than that of any other tribes in Montana. Drought, strong winds, and late spring and early fall frosts discouraged their meager efforts at tilling the soil. In 1886 their agent reported "quite a number of potato patches" cultivated by the Indians. But the total farming effort of more than two thousand Indians amounted to but twelve acres. Obviously, these former big game hunters derived little satisfaction from grubbing in the dirt.

While the individual Indians owned no cattle, the agency herd of about five hundred head proved a tempting target for adventurous meat-loving Indians, who found they could kill a cow or steer and get away with both meat and hide before the herder discovered



them. Agent Allen reported that "many cattle have been lost in that way." Occasionally, young Indians killed a stear belonging to a white rancher south of the reservation. They justified their action by saying that the whites had killed a great many of their buffalo. Why shouldn't they kill a few of the white men's cattle?

Meanwhile, white cattlemen cast envious eyes on the great expanse of reservation grassland unused by the Indians. On February 25, 1884, Delegate Maginnis introduced into the House of Representatives a bill which was intended to reduce the area of the reservation and throw the ceded portion open to settlement. But the Commissioner of Indian Affairs objected to the bill on the ground that a land cession should be negotiated with the Indians in the field.

On May 15, 1886, Congress authorized the appointment of the Northwest Commission to negotiate with the Sioux, Assiniboin, Gros Ventre, and Blackfoot Indians of Montana for the cession of "so much of their land as they do not require, in order to obtain the means to enable them to become self-supporting, as a pastoral and agricultural people, and to educate their children in the paths of civilization."

After completing negotiations with the tribes farther east, the commissioners proceeded, under abominable weather conditions, toward the Blackfoot Agency. Traveling through snow as much as two feet deep, in temperatures as low as fifty degrees below zero, it took them sixteen days to make the last one hundred miles from Sun River northward to the agency. They arrived at the agency on Februar 8, 1887, to find that "the Indians had been tampered with by dast incomplete with the finding had been tampered with by dast incomplete with the advantage to themselves, in one way or another." Prompted by these men, the chiefs demanded \$3,000,000 for their surplus lands. This was much more than the commissioners believed they were authorized to offer. Finally, "after long and patient reasoning with them," the Indians agreed to accept \$150,000 per year for ten years.

On February 11, an agreement was signed by the commissioners, by chiefs White Calf and Three Suns (Big Nose), and by 220 other adult males of the Piegan tribe. Elderly Indians who, as young men, affixed their marks to this paper referred to it in their conversations as "when we sold the Sweet Grass Hills." Although the eastern boundary between the Piegans and their Gros Ventre neighbors had been indefinite, the Piegans considered the Sweet Grass

Hills the most prominent landmark in that portion of the ceded area over which their buffalo hunting parties used to raom. The Blackfeet Reservation established under the terms of this agreement comprised the westernmost portion of their former reservation. Its eastern boundary followed the main channel of Cut Bank Creek, from its mouth upstream for a distance of twenty miles, thence in a line due northward to the Canadian boundary. The new reservation was bounded on the north by the international line, on the west by the summit of the Rockies, and on the south by Birch Creek. It was still a large area in proportion to the number of Indians residing upon it. Its 1,760,000 acres provided an equivalent of 775 acres for each man, woman, and child among the Piegans of Montana. When their agent stated that "this reservation gives them sufficient land for all their wants," his conclusion must have sounded reasonable to both whites and Indians.

In return for the land relinquished by the Indians, the government agreed to spend \$150,000 annually for a period of ten years to purchase livestock, agricultural and mechanical implements, goods, clothing, and subsistence, to provide for the education of the Indian children, to furnish medical care, to build a new agency, schools, and shops, to assist the Indians in building homes and enclosing their farms, and "to promote their civilization, comfort and improvement."

As an incentive to Indian industry, the agreement further provided that in the distribution of livestock, goods, clothing, agricultural implements, and the like, "preference shall be given to Indians who endeavor by honest labor to support themselves, and especially to those who in good faith undertake the cultivation of the soil or engage in pastoral pursuits as a means of obtaining a livelihood."

Congress approved the agreement on May 1, 1888. That very spring some of the Piegan bands, encouraged by the government's promise to reward industry, moved northward from Badger Creek. They broke 150 acres of land on Two Medicine River, about 70 acres on Cut Bank Creek, and planted oats, potatoes, and barley. The old Indian pattern of residence in bands began to give away to the rural white man's practice of individual family residence. The Indian families had their homes along the streams near water and timber.

A delegation of Piegan leaders traveled to Washington and asked the Great White Father to spend a goodly portion of their new ann mities for cattle and large horses. In 1890 some one thousan heifers and twenty-five bulls were issued and the Piegans



got their start as cattlemen. Many of them who had shown no interest in farming found herding cattle enjoyable work. It wasn't unlike caring for horses. More cattle were distributed in subsequent years. By 1896 there were more than five hundred different brands on the reservation stock book. The Great Northern Railway, which was built across the center of the reservation in the early nineties, offered a ready outlet to market for the Indians' cattle. In 1895 they shipped \$30,000 worth of prime beef steers to Chicago. By 1896, the Indians were operating two hundred mowing machines to cut wild hay for winter cattle feed.

During the late eighties and early nineties large stallions were given to owners of Indian ponies to breed with their small mares in order to obtain stronger farm animals capable of pulling a plow or a wagon. The fullbloods could not forget that their people used to measure a man's wealth in horses. They counted their colts sired by big Morgan stallions as they were born to their Indian pony mares. The little Indian pony was disappearing, but the Indians' horse herds were increasing rapidly. Some men specialized in horses of particular colors and bragged of their hundreds of whites, browns, or pintos. Owl Child, one of the most successful Piegan stockmen of this period, was very proud of his large horse herd. He owned nearly five hundred head of cattle, worth much more than his horses, but he never mentioned them in his bragging.

Five hundred wagons were issued to the Piegans in the early nineties. They were light, thin-spoked vehicles, poorly suited to rough usage over rock-strewn plains and deeply rutted wagon trails. They seemed always to be breaking down. So Indian women clung to the old horse travois in preference to the new fangled four-wheeled box which they called "something that rolls."

During the late eighties and early nineties the Indian home rapidly evolved from the canvas-covered tipi to the small, round log cabin with dirt floor and roof of pine poles covered with earth, to the hewn-log cabin and eventually to the neat clapboard house with wood floor and shingled roof. By the late nineties the most prosperous Indian cattlemen were living in multiple-room frame houses, while poor families still occupied one-room dirt-floored cabins.

The everyday clothing of these Indians also changed during period, particularly in men's wear. In the early eighties, me had worn cloth shirts, breechcloths, and leggings. Even in



1887 the only men who wore coats and trousers were the Indian Police and some of the chiefs. During the nineties most of the younger men discarded their leggings and breechcloths in favor of what the Indian Service cailed "citizen's dress"---coat and trousers. But many Indians found white men's shoes stiff, confining, and uncomfortable. Consequently, the moccasin survived as a common article of adult Blackfoot footgear long after these people adopted white men's body clothing.

While Washington authorities had talked glibly during the eighties of education as the primary civilizing agent for Indians, the Piegans continued to suffer from lack of school facilities. As late as 1889 their agent was trying to squeeze ten boys and twenty-two girls into a schoolroom intended for only sixteen pupils. Yet the school-age population of the reservation numbered 350. Thus, less than 10 per cent of the children could receive the advantages of schooling on their own reservation. For several years some children had been sent across the Rockies to the Catholic school at St. Ignatius Mission. Some of them were among the forty-five children who comprised the first Blackfoot students to be sent to the famous Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania in 1889.

In the next three years opportunities for schooling increased rapidly. In September, 1890, the new Holy Family Mission School opened on Two Medicine River with accommodations for one hundred pupils. In 1892 a new government industrial school was opened at the former military post of Fort Shaw on Sun River and sixty Piegan children were enrolled. And that same year a new boarding school was opened on Willow Creek, west of present Browning. By 1894 three-quarters of the children of school age were in school.

The Indian boarding school took upon itself the difficult task of impressing upon the Indian child the superiority of the white man's values. Learning to be "civilized" meant learning a host of little things——to comb one's hair, to wear a coat, trousers, and shoes, to sit in a chair and sleep in a bed, to use a knife and fork, to tell time, and much more. In McGuffey's classic graded readers, the Indian child was exposed to the white man's strange code of ethics as he learned to read. As he progressed through the grades, he thrilled to Robinson Cruspe and Swiss Family Robinson. The Indian boy learned to milk a cow, to drive a team of horses, to build a fence, to care for livestock, and to plant, cultivate, and harvest crops. The girl learned to cook strange foods, to launder clothes, make dresses, and perform general housework according to the white housewire's standards. Both boys and girls learned to honor the American flag and to appreciate



the symbolism of such great national holidays as the Fourth of July, George Washington's birthday, Christmas, and Easter. Thus, the work of civilizing Indian children required much more than constant drill in the three R's. It required painstaking indoctrination in the basic fundamentals of the white man's culture.

The task of civilizing adult men and women was much more difficult. Blackfoot agents had received very little assistance from the Christian missionaries. In 1890 the census estimated that "5 per cent of these Indians are Roman Catholics and the other are sun worshipers." Not until three years later was a permanent Protestant mission established on the reservation. Then Rev. and Mrs. Dutcher built a Methodist church on Willow Creek near the boarding school.

Meanwhile, some of the agents charged with the difficult task of reporting the Indians' progress toward civilization were not satisfied with the results they could obtain by example and persuasion alone. They offered bribes or threatened punishments in their efforts to destroy the symbols of the Indians' savage life, which these agents found distasteful. Disregarding the time-honored American principle of freedom of religion, they directed their attack primarily against the Indians' tribal ceremonial, the Sun Dance. In 1887 Agent Baldwin ordered members of the Indian Police not to participate in or to encourage this ceremony. He exacted a pledge of each Indian who received a brood mare from the government that he would take no part in the Sun Dance. Consequently, there was no Sun Dance the following summer. Major Baldwin also pointed with pride to the fact that he had required all members of the Indian Police to cut their hair and to "abstain from the objectionable hatit of parmeans their faces." Friends of the Indians prevailed upon Washington officials to remove this hostile agent.

Yet, six years later, Captain Lorenzo Cook, another strict disciplinarian, ordered two Sun Dance lodges used in previous years to be torn down and the timbers used for erecting branding corrals. He prohibited not only the Sun Dance but "Indian mourning, beating the tom-tom, gambling, and wearing Indian costumes" as well. And he tried to discourage "less pernicious practices such as horse racing," Captain Cook even asked the traders not to stock the paints Indians used for painting their faces. Short Face recalled that this unsympathetic agent sentenced Indians who cut off their fingers in mourning or built a sweat lodge to thirty days in jail. He even threatened to jail women who did beadwork.



Such efforts to force the Indians to abandon their traditional ceremonies and customs served only to rouse the Indians' resentment. After the persecuting agents were replaced, the Piegans resumed the forbidden practices with even greater zeal. Under less hostile agents they revived and continued the Sun Dance, making only one concession to the interests of the whites. They moved the ceremony ahead several weeks so it would coincide with the white man's July Fourth holiday season. In 1900 boys were playing hooky from Willow Creek School to visit the picturesque Sun Dance encampment near by.

Often visitors from neighboring tribes formerly hostile to the Blackfeet visited the Sun Dance encampment. These visits were accompanied by exchanges of gifts between the visitors and their hosts. The Assiniboins from the east gave the Piegans shiny catinite pipe bowls, beautifully made buckskin suits decorated with porcupine quillwork, and breastplates and necklaces of bone hairpipes. Piegan women admired the feather designs employed in Assiniboin quillwork and copied them in their own beadwork. The Assiniboins also gave some Piegan men flowing feather bonnets of the Sioux type, which became very popular with the Blackfeet leaders for ceremonial wear and for dress-parade headgear. By the turn of the century, some Piegan men were making these bonnets as skillfully as the Sioux craftsmen. The traditional straight-up bonnet of the Blackfeet was becoming obsolete.

From the Assimiboins in the mid-ninetties the Piegans also acquired the Grass Dance, a lively, young men's social dance with its associated paraphernalia of deer hair roaches and hawk bells which jingled merrily as the dancers cavorted.

Friendly Crow Indians gave the Piegans moccasins and pendants of human hair which could be worn by a short-haired Indian on dress occasions to create the impression that his hair was long. The Crows also transferred one of their sacred ceremonies, which the Piegans called the "Crow Water Beaver Ceremony." It became so popular that the Montana Piegans taught it to their North Piegan relatives in Canada in 1905.

From west of the Rockies, the formerly hostile Flathead, Kutenai, and Nez Perce tribes brought cornhusk and yarn flat pouches and many well-dressed deerskins and elk hides. In return, the Piegans gave their western friends beautifully beaded men's suits and women's dresses. Piegan women readily acknowledged the superior skill of the Flatheads and Kutenais in dressing skins. By the turn of the century they were obtaining the great majority of the skins employed in their own craftwork in trade or by gift from those overmountain tribes. Very few Piegan women bothered to continue the arduous labor of fleshing, scraping, and softening bucksin.



It was like old times for the Piegans to gather for a few weeks in summer, set up their tipis, take off their white men's somber garments and don their colorful Indian clothes, paint their faces, gamble on horse races and in the stick game, enjoy social dances, and above all, to experience once again the religious stimulation of the great tribal Sun Dance. Women made handsome costumes for their menfolk and other fine craftwork for presents to visitors from other tribes. Their rivalry as craftswomen was no less keen than was that of their menfolk, who bragged of their fine herds of horses and their success as cattlemen.

After the Indians spread out along the valleys of their reservation, many of them found it inconvenient to travel south to Badger Creek for their weekly rations. The agent found his headquarters poorly located for administering to the needs of his far-flung Indians. His agency had become an obsolete stockade of rotting logs. So in 1894 the agent and chiefs selected a new site nearer the center of the reservation, on Willow Creek, some two miles from the new railroad. There twenty-two new buildings were erected, among them a hospital and a modern slaughterhouse. The new agency was occupied in the spring of 1895.

In the early mineties the Blackfoot agent was constantly othered by white respectors ho were invading the westernmost portion of the reservation in search of precious minerals, and by Indians who complained that these whites were stealing their gold. This mountainous area was of little value to the Indians for grazing or farming. Agent George Steel, in 1893, recommended that the mountainous strip be sold and the proceeds placed to the credit of the Indians as an additional fund for their support and maintenance.

During the month of September, 1895, three commissioners met with the Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation to negotiate an agreement for the sale of this western strip. They found the Indian leaders again asked \$3,000,000 for the strip of land the whites wanted. They offered \$1,250,000. A compromise was finally reached in which the Indians were allowed \$1,500,00 in addition to the right to bunt, fish, and cut timber in the mountainous area as long as it remained public lands of the United States. The provisions of this agreement were very similar to those of the treaty negotiated in 1887. In effect, they provided a continuation of government expenditures as the rate of \$150,000 per year for another decade after the expiration of the payments under the terms of the previous agreement.

The agreement acknowledged that the Blackfeet Reservation was "wholly unfit for agriculture," but since the Indians demon-



strated their ability to raise cattle, "and there is every probability that they will become self-supporting by attention to this industry," the whole reservation was to be held by these Indians as a communal grazing tract during the period of the agreement.

When the ceded strip was opened to prospectors under the mineral-land laws in mid-April, 1898, more than five hundred whites searched the valleys on the eastern slope of the Rockies, hoping to strike it rich. But they found no gold and very little other precious mineral. The gold rush to these former Blackfoot lands proved a dismal disappointment. Today much of this land is included in Glacier National Park.

Between the years 1887 and 1900, the Blackfeet Indians in Montana made greater progress toward civilization than in any other period of equal duration in their history. A few comparisons of figures from the annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1886 and 1900 clearly portray the extent of this progress.

	1886	<u> 1900</u>
Number of Indians who can read	18	900
Number who wear citizens dress	40	2,085
Horses and mules owned by Indians	1,205	22 <b>,</b> 004
Cattle owned by Indians	0	12,000
Acres cultivated by Indians	12	500
Bushels oats, barley, rye harvested	30	700
Bushels vegetables harvested	100	3 <b>,7</b> 00
Tons of hay cut	170	6,000

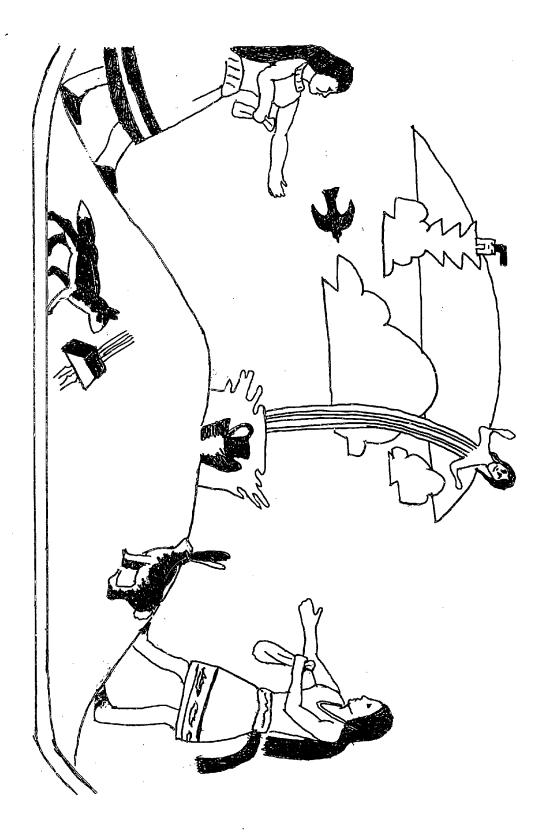
In 1886 the primitive Blackfeet had not recovered from the double shock of the disappearance of their staff of life, the buffalo, and the prolonged period of starvation following the extermination of that animal. They had neither the knowledge nor the resources to make a living in the white man's world.

Even though their reservation area was twice reduced during this period, these Indians still owned a large area in proportion to their numbers. The 2,085 Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation still owned in common nearly 1,500,000 acres. Furthermore, this was good land---some of the finest grazing land in the United States. The Indians were demonstrating their willingness to work at a task which they enjoyed, the raising of cattle and horses.

At the turn of the century these Indians were still receiving weekly rations. But their valiant struggle and their solid

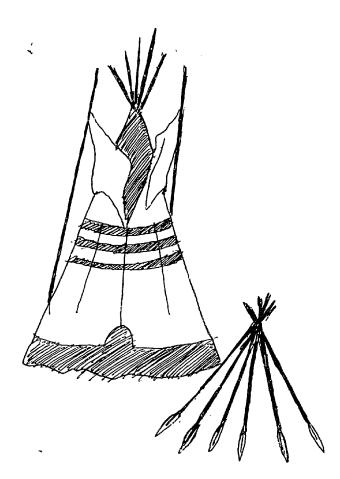


accomplishments in the recent past caused competent officials to be very optimistic regarding their future. James H. Monteith, their agent, confidently predicted, "As to this particular tribe, it can with proper management be made self-supporting in a few years."



NAVAJO, CREATION OF NORTH MOUNTAIN

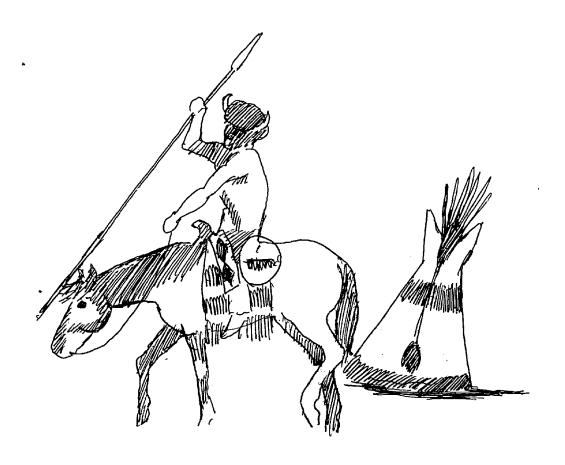
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By Act of Congress, May 1, 1907, provision was made for survey of the Blackfeet Reservation and in 1912, 2,750 allotments were made to Blackfeet Indians with sites reserved for Browning and Babb. All allotments were 40 acres of irrigable land or they could take all 320 acres in grazing land. The remainder of the Reservation after the allotments were made, was to be sold under the Homestead Act with the proceeds of sales deposited in the U. S. Treasury to the credit of the Tribe and to repay the Government for construction of irrigation projects.

Kenneth McKenzie of the American Fur Co. concluded a peace treaty between the Blackfeet and Assiniboines in 1831 but it lasted less than two years. On October 17, 1855, Isaac Stevens concluded a treaty with the Blackfeet: "Perpetual peace with the United States." Land south of a line from Hell Gate in the Rockies to the nearest source of the Musselshell River was declared a common hunting ground for the Blackfeet and the tribes west of the mountains but some were to establish permanent villages. North of that line from the Continental Divide, as far east as the mouth of the Milk River, was the "territory of the Blackfeet." White men were to be allowed to live in and pass through territory and to build roads, telegraph lines, military posts, agencies, missions, farms, schools, shops, mills and stations. The Blackfeet were to receive the annual sum of \$20,000 to be spent by the Government in establishing the Blackfeet in agriculture and instructing them in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and educating their children. The treat. tified on April 15, 1856. At that time, Lone Chief (Lame Dall said to Rev. E. D. McKey: "When we catch wild animal on the trains and try to tame him, we find it very hard. It may take a long time and lots of patience but we want white man to tame us."



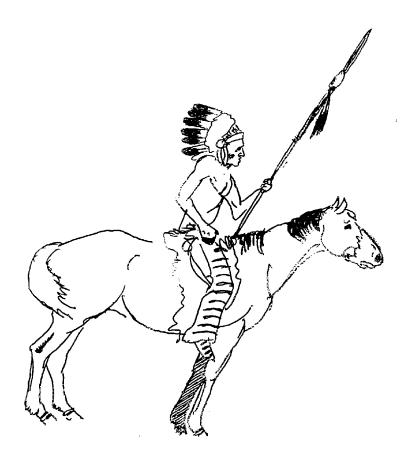


The first agency for the Blackfeet was established at Fort Benton. In 1869 it was moved to the Teton River about three and one-half miles northwest of the present townsite of Choteau. Major Hatch was the first agent. In 1876 the Agency was moved to a site on Running Cranes place on upper Badger Creek. In 1880 it was moved to Old Agency and in 1894 after the Great Northern Railway had been built across the reservation, the Agency was moved to Willow Creek at Browning.









The Blackfeet Tribes now consists of approximately 12,000 enrolled members of whom more than 6,700 live on the reservation. Approximately 73 per cent of the enrollees are more than one-fourth Indian blood and 27 per cent are three-fourths or more Indian blood. The Blackfeet Reservation comprises an area of 1,525,712 acres of which approximately 941,000 acres remain in Indian ownership, either Tribal or allotted. The governing body of the Reservation is the Tribal Business Council of nine elected members. Tribal members derive their income chiefly from timber and forest products, agriculture and stock raising, craft products and oil activity.



#### **RESERVATIONS**

It is time to explain the somewhat complicated question of what a reservation is and what the status of an Indian is. In both there have been changes.

Reservations originally were areas of land reserved for Indiana, to which they were supposed to be confined. The idea of comfinement has long been forgotten. A reservation today is a tract of land, large or small, good or worthless, reserved for the exclusive mae of a specific group of Indians and held in trust for that group by the United States. It is exempt from taxation and so is income derived from it. No part of it can be sold, given away, taken from foreclosure or other process, rented or leased without the consent of both the owners and the trustees. The trustee in important matters is the Secretary of the Interior, in a nor ones the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The government is also responsible for ensuring that the land is properly used and its resources not wasted. One tribe, owning a valuable stand off timber, talked the trustee into agreeing to a sale of the timer that resulted in great waste and damage and a poor return to the tribe. When the Indians woke up to what they had Let themselves in for, they successfully sued the United States for several million dollars compensation since the trustee had falled in his duty.

Such land is called "trust land," because it is in trust, and "restricted land," since its owners are restricted to some extent in their use of it, more so in disposing of it. Granted the restriction, the ownership of such land, tax exempt and producing tax exempt income, is obviously a desirable thing; any of us might like to enjoy the same right.

A reservation has another important quality. In legal language, it is "Indian Country." With certain special exceptions, Indian Country is exempt from law, and state courts and police have no authority within it. It is subject to federal law, lawsuits arising within it are tried in federal courts, major crimes are controlled by federal statutes. For the Indians within Indian Country, lesser crimes, including some that rate as felonies, and such matters as marriage, divorce, and ordinary business relationships are under the jurisdiction of the tribe. This jurisdiction is the foundation on which tribal self-government, even the continued existence of tribes as tribes, exists. All strong tribes maintain their ow police and courts, and jealously guard their right of home rule.



An Indian may leave his reservation any time he likes, without asking anyone's permission (except for a couple of Pueblos in
the Southwest, which still enforce their old law requiring permission from their own government before a tribesment can absent himself). He can come back wherever he chooses. It can chearly be
seen that reservations are not 'concentration caners," despite
much hysterical talk and even some hysterical books to the contrary.



### LIFE ON THE RESUSVATION

Many white petale who have had attle experience with Indians think of the Indian of the Plains in terms of a rather glum looking redskin, chad in buckskin suit, surmounted by a flowing feather headdress and riding a spotted pony. It is doubtful whether the Blackfeet were ever as tabiturn and gloomy as they have been pictured. They are a fun loving people, with a love of joines and funny staries, and a decided inclination not to take themselves too semiously. The rest of the white man's conception might have described some of the Blackfeet of seventy-five sears ago. It has all fits the Blackfeet of today. The life and dress of the modern Blackfeet are very much like that of the people of other rural communities of the west.

The conception of these Indians & members of a vanishing race also needs correction. The decline in Blackfer population was checked before 1900. Since then the number of Indians on the Agency rolls has been increasing. There were arely 1800 Blackfeet in 1895. Fifty years later mey numbered more than 5,000 and in 1957 the peopulation had reached 7,200. Blackfeet population is now increasing at more than three times the rate of the general United States. Seven years ago the population of the Browning School system was 800 students, Grades I through 12, the enrollment of the Browning School system today is 1,925 students, of which 450 are in high school, and an enrillment of 500 can be expected by next year. In the old days of intertribal warfare, women putnumbered men two or three to ome, but today there are few more males than females among the Elackfeet. Intermarriage with whites, a practice that began in sarly fur trade days, has changed the racial character of most of the Blackfeet. Today, more than four-fifths of those enrolled at the Blackfeet Agency are mixed I node. Since 1910 the proportion of full-bloods in the tribe has failed from more than to less than 20%. There seems to be little possibility test this proportion will not continue to decrease in the future. As a result of inter-manuage with whites, many Blackfeet Indians now have surmames of French, English, Scotch, Irish, or German origin. The French names are most common. Among the full-bloods are retained many pic mesque Indian names such as; Green Grass Bull, Bear Medicine, Running Crane, Many Hides, New Breast. Mad Plume, and many others.

Most all Blackfeet now speak English, and can read and write it. Some of the older full-bloods still speak only then native tongue. Many of the homes today speak only the native tongue, this



includes the young also. Nearly all of them have learned to sign their names. A majority of the Indians speak both Black-feet and English. However, many of the younger have great difficulty with the Blackfeet language, or know only a few common words.

Farming and stock raising provide a Living for the majority of Blackfeet today. More than half of the families on the reservation have an agricultural income. Others work for wages in stores, on the railroad, on ranches, or industry. Still others are in the Government Service. Some find seasonal employment as agricultural laborers in Montana beet fields or in the hop fields and apple orchards of the northwest. A number of women and some men obtain additional income through the sale of their handicrafts through the Elackfeet Tribal Craft Office. Tribal members also receive income from grazing, farming, and oil leases.

Most Blackfeer today dress much as the people of other farming and ranching communities of the high plains region. Some of the older full-bloods appear in more picturesque clothing. Some men wear thear hair in long braids. Some of the older women wear moccasins, bright colored print dresses, and colored hanker-chiefs, shawls or blankets about their shoulders. Very seldom do you see an Indian woman down town without a coat or wrap of some kind, no matter how hot it may be. Most of the traditional outfits are beautifully made, but are kept for ceremonies.

The Blackfeet today live in frame or log houses. Some of these structures are modern ones with several rooms. Others are poorly constructed one room buildings, mostly on "Moccasin Flats." Many have pre-fab homes built at government expense, after the flood. As in many other rural communities many of the houses have outside collets; however this is changing also. For a week or ten days in early summer about the middle of July, a number of Blackfeet families occupy tipis in a great camp circle during the observance of the traditional Sum Dance ceremony, now referred to as Blackfeet Indian Days.

Social dances are held periodically in the district community houses, Starr School, Heart Butte, etc. They are most common during Christmas and other Holiday seasons. These dances are usually followed by the traditional "give away" in which presents are distributed to visitors by the members of the communities giving the dance. Horse racing and stick games are held every Sunday at Heart Butte and Starr School, two cf the local communities. The Blackfeet enjoy visiting and entertaining. Frequent visits are made back and forth across the line with their friends and relatives on the Canadian reservations of southern Alberta. They also visit other Montana reservations.



A well-equipped base hospital, containing fifty or more beds is maintained by the Indian Serwice at Browning. The health of the Indians is cared for by a staff of seven full time physicians, additional part time specialists from Great Falls and Kalispell, registered nurses and practical nurses. The most serious diseases among the Blackfeet today are tuberculosis and trachoma. Mostly among the older full-bloods, (trachoma, especially), however, too many of the young do have tuberculosis. The majority of cases are maternity and accidental cuts and bruises.

All Indian children are required to attend school. The majority of them attend one of the score of rural public grade schools on the reservation or the public combined grade schools of Browning Public Schools or the Browning High School. The Bureau of Indians Affairs also provide a boarding school. The Cut Bank Boarding School is available for grade school pupils and some high school students who meet very migid government requirements. Some may be orphans or come from broken homes, indigent homes or isolated at great distances from any of the schools. This boarding school is a mis-nomer now because it is not a school, only a boarding dormitory. All of the youngsters living at the dorm attend school in Browning. There are also distant off-reservation schools that the students from Browning attend. However, less and less of the young people are leaving Browning to attend these schools.

The great majority of the Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation today belong to the Catholic Church. A Methodist Church is also maintained by the Home Missions Board, and more of the Blackfeet are identifying themselves with other denominations.

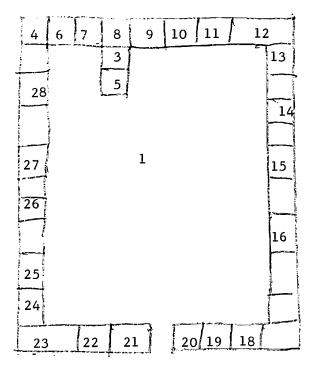
In 1937, the Blackfeet Tribe put into effect its own code of municipal ordinances, covering all offenses among Indians other than the "ten major crimes" which are punishable in Federal Courts under Federal statutes. The tribe has its own courts of law, judges, law enforcement officers, and a jail. The Tribal Code also includes comprehensive game laws designed to conserve the wildlife of the Blackfeet Reservation. Marriage and divorce are subject to the laws of the State of Montana. However, this is ignored in many cases.

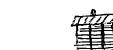
The legislative body for tribal affairs, under the Blackfeet Tribal constitution, is the Tribal Business Council. It is a body of thirteen officers, representing the various districts or communities on the reservation. Members are elected for a term of two years. Among the powers of the Tribal Council are: The preservation of reservation wildlife; the regulation of law and order on the reservation; and the encouragement of Indian arts and crafts, culture and traditions. Earl Old Person is presently Chairman of the Tribal Council and has been for the past four years.



# GROUND PLAN OF BLACKFEET AGENCY ON BADGER CREEK (1876~78)

- 1. Well
- 2. Flag pole
- 3. Dinning room
- 4. Store room
- 5. Office
- 6. Store room
- 7. Kitchen
- 8. Provision
- 9. Teacher
- 10. Agent
- 11. Asst. teacher
- 12. Store room
- 13. Clerk
- 14. School room



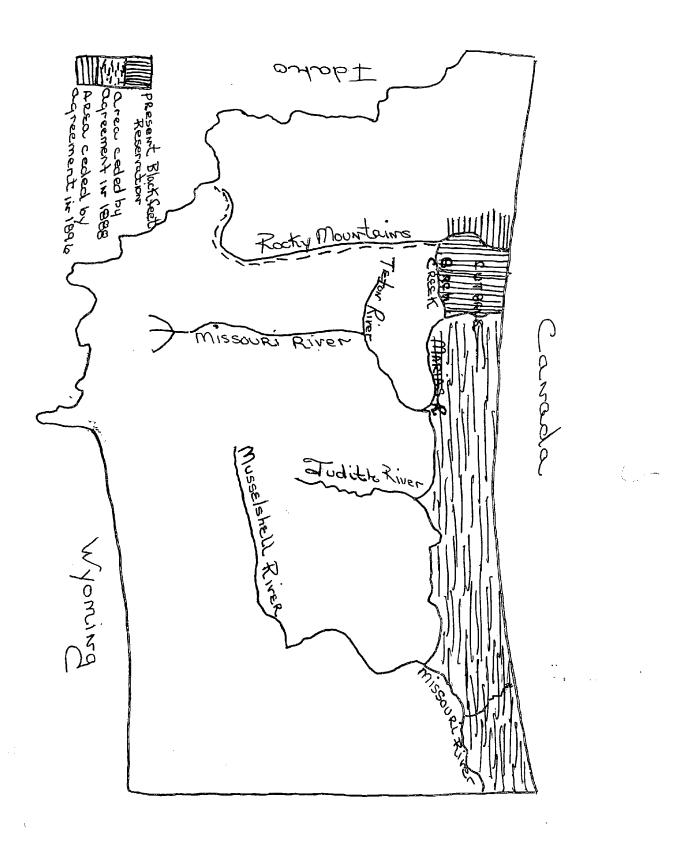


- 15. Doctor
- 16. Farmer
- 17. Wood shed
- 18. Store room
- 19. Post office
- 20. Indian room
- 21. Carpenter
- 22. Interpreter
- 23. Blacksmith shop
- 24. Carpenter shop
- 25. Laborers
- 26. Meat house
- 27. Store
- 28. Wagon h**ous**e

### CHAPTER II - CULTURE

Plains Culture Blackfoot Indian Language Sign Language Pictographs Indian Names Personal Names Hunting Eagles Fishing Wild Plants Preparation of Food Cooking Tipi Indian and His Horse Tools Art Headdress Recreation Dances Medicine Marriage Divorce Superstitions





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On June 18, 1934, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act. It provided for revesting of landless Indians with land for subsistence; for instituting conservation practices on timber, grass, soil and water resources; advanced schooling; adequate credit programs; the right to go to court to defend their civil and property rights; and the constitution of the Blackfeet Tribe became effective entitling the Tribe to the full powers of the Act.



#### PLAINS CULTURE

These tribes share a sufficiently large number of cultural traits to be classed together as representing a distinctive mode of life. Inasmuch as they inhabit a continuous territory, it is proper to speak of a "Plains" culture area, using the geographical term in its wider sense. In characterizing such an area we must keep in mind neighboring areas, for only by comparison can a type of culture stand out clearly. This means that lacks as well as positive occurrences must be noted. The Plains peoples, then, were typically large-game hunters, dependent for considerable part of their diet on buffalo and using buffalo hides and deerskins for clothing and receptacles. Unlike the Basin and Plateau tribes to the west, they made little or no use of fish and such small game as rabbits. Houses of stone or adobe, such as are still inhabited by the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, were wholly absent. During at least part of the year the Plains Indians lived in conical skin-covered tents (tipis); these were larger than the similarly shaped tents of the Mackenzie River region to the north and further differed from them and from the occasionally skincovered Eastern Woodland tents in having a special arrangement for a smoke vent. Characteristic was the seasonal grouping of tipis in a large circle.

The only aboriginal domestic animal was the dog, eaten by a few of the tribes, more generally used for packing and traction. The Spaniards introduced horses, which vitally altered hunting and transport methods, secondarily also affecting other aspects of life. The Plains Indians, favored by their environment, turned into equestrian nomads, sharply contrasting with Pueblo, Woodland, and Basin Peoples. However, this transformation does not antedate the eighteenth century. The Spanish settlements in present New Mexico were the source of supply, and the new feature spread slowly toward the north. Equestrain culture and its derivatives are therefore typical of the whole area only from well into the eighteenth century. Travel before and after the introduction of the horse was by land, the Woodland bark or dugout canoe being conspicuously absent among all but the eastern most tribes of the area.

As regards craft, Plains Indians were good skin dressers and extensively used hides and dressed skins. In glaring contrast to their western and southwestern neighbors they displayed next to no aptitude for weaving and basketry. Woodwork likewise was not developed. However, the women made a good deal of fine porcupine quill embroidery, and some skill was displayed in the attachment of feathers for decoration.



Several normaterial traits require mention at this point. Like the Eastern Indians, the Plains tribes were very warlike, thus again differing sharply from the natives of the Basin and the Plateau. A periodically functioning police force is another characteristic of the area, and clublike organizations promoting the military spirit as part of their functions were widespread. The number and complexity of ceremonials again distinguishes the Plains from the Basin and Plateau, the climax being attained in the usually annual festival of the Sun Dance. Decorative art in painting, quillwork, and beadwork emphasized straight-lined geometrical designs, the style of painted figures on rawhide containers being highly distinctive. Except near the eastern border of the area, the absence of floral patterns until recent times separated Plains from Woodland art.

The foregoing diagnostic traits suffice to set off the Plains from other areas. However, some supplementary statements are required. In the first place, a few of the outlying tribes, such as the Ute and Shoshone, share the external features rather than the religious and social traits, which tend to be at best attenuated among them. Secondly, the Southern Siouans together with the Pawnee, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara unquestionably represent a distinct subculture. That is, while displaying most or all of the Plains criteria, they show additional traits, notably agriculture and a semisedentary existence with pottery-making and part-time residence in fixed villages of earthlodges.

Finally, any classification on cultural and geographical lines has an element of arbitrariness in borderline cases. Whether to include certain peripheral groups is optional. Thus, the Upper Kutenai, recently living in the extreme north of Idaho and Montama as well as in British Columbia, but once living east of the Rockies, were buffalo hunters and adopted a few traits, such as the Sun Dance, from the Blackfoot or Cree. They have been reparded both as a stock by themselves and as amother Algonkian group.

# A GUIDE TO THE SPOKEN BLACKFEET INDIAN LANGUAGE

Blackfeet Indian words in this guide are written phonetically. Each letter or letters is used for the sound it usually represents in English. Thus, oo is always pronounced as in moon and boot. Hyphens (-) are used to divide words into syllables with the correct marks (\*--) to make them easier to pronounce. The syllables to be accented are marked with the accent (/).

By using this guide and the following key the reader should have no trouble in getting the right sound.

a'	as	in	father
ã	as	in	lake
a	as	in	cat
ě	as	in	get
ē	as	in	me
i	as	in	cat get me bit night sun
1	as	in	night
ŭ	as	in	sun

u as in cute
o as in lot
o as in go
oy as in boy
oi as in oil
ou as in house
au as in haul
q own sound



## BLACKFEET INDIAN LANGUAGE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

ō-ke nik-sō-koo-we che-ma-chim-mo-git Hello or grettings My friend Shake hands Yes äh sä No ke-sto-wa ne-sto-wa You Me Chief a-cooks-ka-ne ne-na-wa a-ke-wa Man Woman sa-koo-ma-pe a-ke-koo-wan Boy Girl na-pe-koo-wan White People a-ki-da-bis-koo Town 3rowning ē-toon-ū-pē Office e-da-sin-ak-qoop kin-non-na' ba-noo-ki-nats-se Superintendent Paper se-naks-sin e-dest-chin-e-mots-too-qoop a-so-kin-a-ke Writing School Doctor Hospital e-da-so-kin-a-qoop Cafe e-toy-you-pe e-da-poom-mop Store e-da-yax-sto-pe Bank House moo-yis a-pist-too-doo-ke God Church na-too-wa-poo-yis á-chim-oo-yis-gon so-ká-pe Prayer Good mots-so-ka-pe No good Gun na-mou i-yin-nä-ke e-stä-poo-yop Police Telephone Stop ne-po-yit a-koo Go a-kis-sto-ma-too-ma-kon moo-so-ko Take it Automobile Road poo-ye Gas a-ste-ma-cho-git Show me Give me koo-git e-spoom-mo-git Help me



ke-ka Wait e-poo-yit Talk ke-da-ye-toks-pa ne-mots-che-re-pa net-se-koo-no ta auk-ke Do you hear me I do not know I am hungry Water oo-ne-ke a-se-che-kim-me Milk Coffee a-soo-yo-poe-che-ke-me Taa ik-kin-e-sim-sim Soft drinks na-pa-yen e-che-sa-koo pa-ta-ke Bread Meat Potatoes na-pen-nu-wan Sugar ist-che-chip-oo-koo ap-stak-a-bo-koo Salt Pepper i-yo-ka oo-ke-sin cha-ne-chim-me e-stou-poom-mop Sleeping Bed How much Money iss-sa Look cha-ne-cha-a-se oo-che-sis-sin ish-chim-ma-che How many miles Smoke Match poo-no-ka-me-da Horse eet-don Daddle e-me-da Dog poo-no-ka Elk Buffalo een-ne-wa á~pē-sē Coyote se-che-ka-che-ta-pe ma-che-wa-pe-ke-che-koo kis-che-ko Blackfeet Indian Good day Day light koo-koo-wa Night na-too-se koo-koo-mik-ke-soom ka-ka-too-see soo-da-wa Sun Moon Stars Rain ke-sto-ye-wa oo-kon ne-doo-yis Hot Medicine Lodge Tepee

### NUMBERS

### WEEK DAYS

Momday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday Saturday Sunday iss-se-ka-too-ye-kis-che-koo
e-da-ta-che-ke-nik-qoop
e-da-ta-che-ke-che-nop-pe
na-me-ke-che-koo
e-da-che-nop-pe
na-me-da-che-nop-pe
na-doo-ye-kis-che-koo





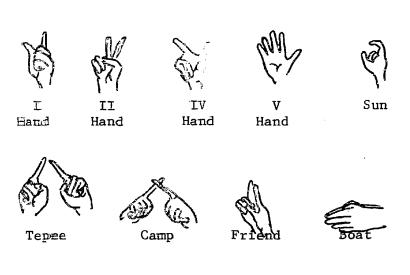


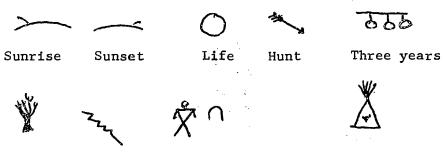


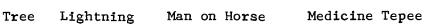


### SIGN LANGUAGE

A language of signs and gestures closely related to the Indians picture writing, by which different tribes of Plains Indians communicated with one another. It was similar in a way to the sign language of deafmutes, only Indians had no alphabet and could not spell out words, but made signs for things and ideas.









River Fight Tepee Making Peace



Man (male, boy)



Mother



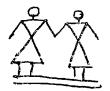
Woman (female, girl)



Baby



Brothers



Sisters



Friends



Father



Me (my, mine)

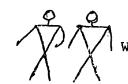


You (he, his, him)











Old Man (grandfather)





Ancestor



Man Alone



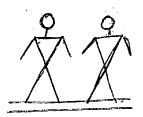
Wiseman (Bright person)



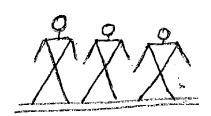
Scout

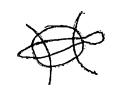


Name Totem



Same Tribe





Different Tribe



Thirty People



Nine white men



Crazy



Council Fire





Campfire



Fire (flame, flaming)



Invite
(call to council)



Tepee



Arrive (return)



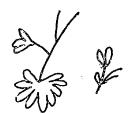
Leave (go away from)



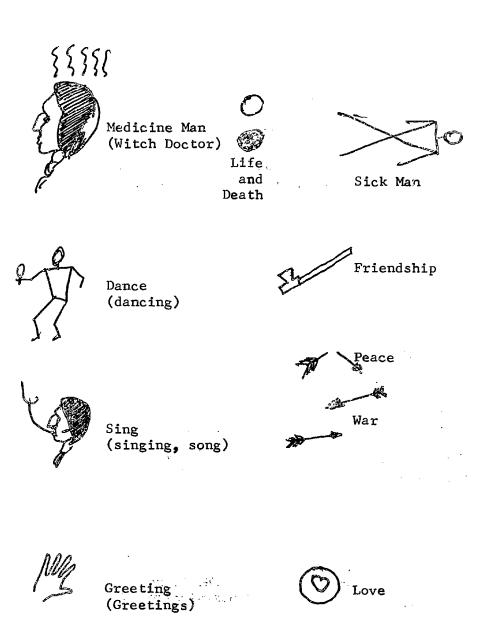
White man's log house



Medicine Tepee



Medicine (medicine herbs)





Heap (many, much, plenty)



Hungry



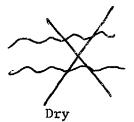
Famine (no meat)

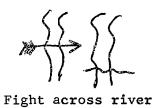


Eat



Meat abundance







Treaty



Chief (head man)



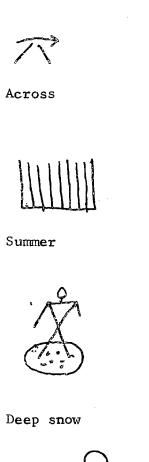
War flag (coup stick)



Award (honor, coup)

Among







Flood

Winter (snow)

Center (in the middle)



Camp in deep snow

111111

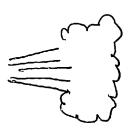
Spring

Grass





Stormy weather





 ${\tt Wind}$ 

Cloud

Clear water



Dog



Dead Bear



Bear



Béaver



Grizzly Bear



Mountain Sheep



Light



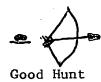
East

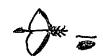


Lacrosse



Hoop and Pole Game





Bad Hunt



Catch (snare)





Crow



Eagle



Ow1



Thunderbird



Buffalo



Cow



Deer



Porcupine



Deer Hunt



Rattle Snake



Wolf



Snake



Rabbit



Fish (Fishing)



 $10 {\rm L}_{\rm O_3}$ 



Happiness (Happy Person)



Great Spirit Everywhere (God)



Spirit Above



Prayer

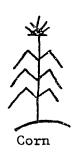


Honest





Flower





L**e**af



Lak**e** 



Country



Pine Tree



Plains Buffalo Country



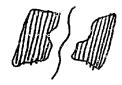
Hill



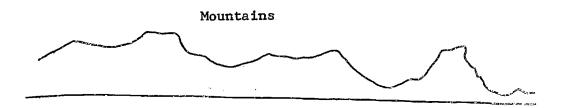
Old Tree



Forest



Canyon





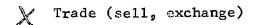
See (saw, looked)

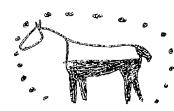


Hear, Listen

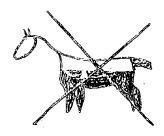


Dream





Rich (many horses)



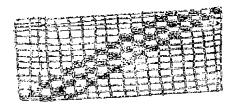
Poor (no horses)



Kill (slay, hit)



Blanket



Money (wampum)





Come





Buffalo Robe





Truth

\_\_\_\_

Sunrise (early morning)

Noon



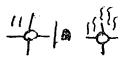
Sunset (afternoon, evening, late)



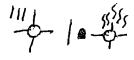
Sunday (medicine day)

0/00

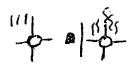
Monday



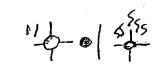
Tuesday



Wednesday

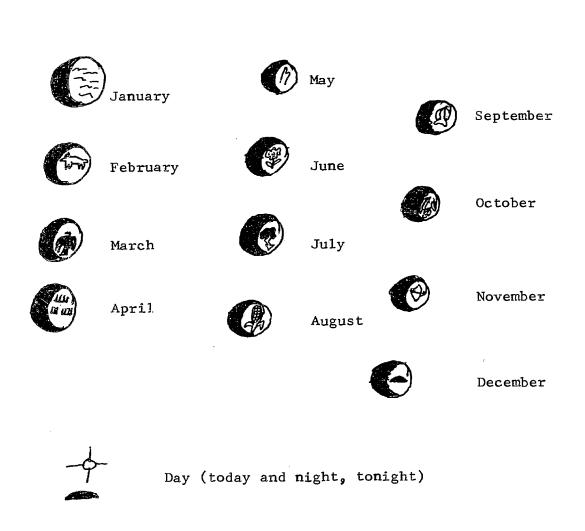


Thursday



Friday

Saturday



Three nights

Three days

Three years

#### INDIAN NAMES

An Indian would seldom, if ever, mention his own name, because it stood for something intimately connected the his life, such as a brave deed which modestly forbade him to mention. He believed that if he mentioned it he would become unfortunate in his undertakings. However, if he were pressed to tell his name he might get someone else to speak it for him.

Tribal customs in giving names, and the names themselves, differed widely. In some tribes clan names were given that referred to the totem, animal, plant, or object. These names were kept through life by the individual. In other tribes a man or woman might bear different names at different periods of life. Thus a boy might at first be known by a baby pet name until he was about five or six years old. At that time he might be given the name of his uncle or grandfather. He would keep this name until he went to war and won a name of honor. After that his name might be changed on special occasions. To assume a new name in some tribes it was necessary for a man to go through elaborate ceremonies. In other, all that was required was to hire a crier who would proclaim the new name throughout the camp.

Men were sometimes known by nicknames because of some absurd saying, ludicrous circumstances, or personal peculiarity. "Butchers-With-His-Head-Down," was such a Blackfoot. In the olden days it was the custom of the older and poorer members of the tribe to go out among the men and women who were cutting up meat after a hunt, and, by helping with the butchering, earn a share of the meat. Nearly everyone was glad to help these people in this way. But one man was so mean and stingy that, whenever he saw the old people coming toward him, he would bend way down pretending in this way not to see the needy ones who came to ask his assistance. This habit was soon noticed and the name "Butchers-With-His-Head-Down" stuck to him all his life.



# BLACKFOOT-MONTANA PERSONAL NAMES

Above are only a few of the names still common on the reservation today. Vowels are pronounced as follows: a as in father, e as in they, i as in marine, o as in note, and u as in flute. Consonants are pronounced as in English. Ai is pronounced as the i in fire and au as ow in now.

77.7

BERRY WOMAN

BULL PLUME

BEAR HEAD









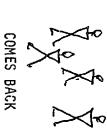


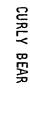














SINGING LONG TIME

WHITE GRASS

WHITE QUIVER

WOLF ROBE

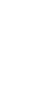




TURTLE

WADES IN THE WATER

RUNNING WOLF













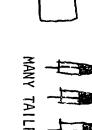


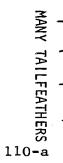






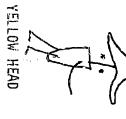




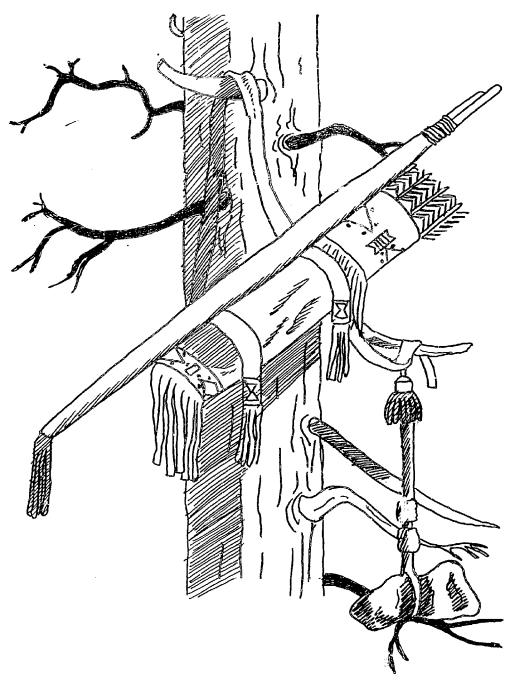












Indian Hunting

#### HUNTING

Large game---elk, deer, antelope, and especially buffalo (bison)---formed the greatest part of the nomads' diet and contributed significantly to the villagers' food supply. An individual hunter would skillfully sneak up to his quarry, often disquised in a wolfskin covering his head and back, until close enough to shoot. In the winter Arapaho or Assiniboin hunters pursued buffalo and antelope on snowshoes, killing the game with ease as they became embedded in the snow. Sometimes a pair or a few men would combine in the chase

Far more important, however, was the collective hunt in which the entire tribe participated. Even villagers like the Omaha abandoned the scrtlements after planting crops and went on their big summer hunt. They pitched tipis in a circle on the open prairie, which the cold prevented them from doing in the late fall or winter. Four methods of collective hunting may be distinguished --- the "surround," driving game down a cliff, impounding, and encircling the victims with fire. The "surround" became increasingly popular with the use of horses. The mounted hunters surrounded the herd, got the animals to mill around, and shot them down, usually with bows and arrows. The remaining methods, though not excluding horsemanship, did not require it. firing" itself implied hemming in the herd by setting fire on all sides except for the hunters' ambush, thus driving the buffalo to the epening, where they were promptly killed. This was a prairie technique reported for the Santee, Miami, and other tribes of the Upper Mississippi country.

The more distinctive aboriginal Plains methods, then, were impounding and driving the game down a cliff; they could be combined with each other, a corral could be built below the cutbank downwhich the beasts were stampeded, but if the height was considerable the enclosure below was unnecessary since the buffalo would be crippled or killed by the fall. Both methods could also be combined with either the use of horses or the firing of grass to force the animals into the required path. In either case, artisfice was needed to start the herd in the proper direction, and great care had to be taken lest the beasts scent their enemies. Since the survival of the people might hinge on success in the chase, the directors of the undertaking issued orders that had to be implicitly obeyed, on pain of severe punishment by the police. Also rituals were performed to promote success.

The drive down a cliff requires no explanation, but, impounded ing does. It involved the construction of a corral with an opening



approach between two converging lines. These were formed by a solid fence in the vicinity of the entrance, but farther away there would be merely rock piles or bundles of brush at intervals; indeed, men and women sentries would be strung out for miles, screaming and waving robes (or in later times blankets) to frighten any animals that might try to escape outside the lines. First of all, scouts had to locate the herds, which then had to be lured within the fatal angle. Among the Assiniboin a skillful mimic covering his body with a robe would imitate the bleat of a buffalo calf as he advanced ahead of the herd into the desired direction. In pre-equestrian days we may assume that the herd was started toward the enclosure by firing grass or dung, a practice that in fact survived well into the horse period. It is said that as many as 600 or more buffalo could be killed by such techniques.

The Cree and the Assiniboin were especially expert at impounding, a method likewise reported for the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Crow, and some other tribes. Driving down a cliff was also practiced, semetimes with a pound below, by the northern tribes. It is not clear what general technique was used by the Arapaho and the southern tribes, prior to their later use of the surround.

Since the admittedly great influence of the horse on Plains developments is sometimes exaggerated, we should remember that effective drives of this type describes the Iroquoian Neutrals driving deer into a pen, thus capturing 120 within 38 days; and grass firing netted 200 buffalo a day for the Miami. In California the unmounted Maidu drove deer down cliffs, the Yokuts surrounded antelope in collective drives, the Washo charmed antelope into corrals. According to Torneaus, a Swedish missionery of the period, horseless seventeenth century Lapps drove reindeer between coverging lines down an artificial "five-stepped slope, at the foot of which there is a lofty and strong enclosure, well protected like a stockade or blind alley, so that no creature could escape from it." Collective drives of the two aboriginal Plains types are thus widespread among the preliterate peoples, and there is no reason to assume that the horse was prerequisite to make them economically possible or effective. Its advent did, of course, make the hunt considerably less arduous and more profitable.



#### **EAGLES**

Before the whites came to the Blackfoot country, the Indian standard of value was eagle tail-feathers. They were used to make ward head-dresses, to tie on the head, and to ornament shields, lances, and other weapons. Besides this, the wings were used for fans, and the body feathers for arrow-making. Always a wary bird, the eagle could seldom be approaced near enough for killing with the bow and arrow; in fact, it seems as if it was considered improper to kill it in that way. The capture of these birds appears to have had about it something of a sacred nature, and, as was always the case among the Indians when anything important was to be undertaken, it was invariably preceded by earnest prayers to the Deity for help and for success.

There are still living many men who have caught eagles in the ancient method. While essentially similar, they differ in certain particulars, especially in the explanations of certain features of the ceremony.

Wolf Calf's account of this ceremony is as follows:

"A man who started out to catch eagles moved his lodge and his family away from the main camp, to some place where the birds were abundant. A spot was chosen on top of a mound or butte within a few miles of his lodge, and here he dug a pit in the ground as long as his body and somewhat deeper. The earth removed was carried away to a distance, and scattered about so as to make no show. When the pit had been made large enough, it was roofed over with small willow sticks, on which grass was scattered, and over the grass a little earth and stones were laid, so as to give the place a natural look, like the prairie all about it.

"The bait was a piece of bloody neck of a buffalo. This of course, could be seen a long way off, and by the meat a stuffed wolf skin was often placed, standing up, as if the animal were eating. To the piece of neck was tied a rope, which passed down through the roof of the pit and was held in the watcher's hand.

"After all had been made ready, the next day the man rose very early, before it was light, and, after smoking and praying, left his camp, telling his wives and children not to use an awl while he was gone. He endeavored to reach the pit early in the morning, before it became light, and lay down it, taking with him a slender stick about six feet long, a human skull, and a little permican. Then he waited.



"When the morning came, and the eagles were flying, one of them would see the meat and descend to take it away from the wolf. Finding it held fast by the rope, the bird began to feed on it; and while it was pecking at the bait, the watcher seized it by the legs, and drew it into the pit, where he killed it, either by twisting its neck, or by crushing it with his knees. Then he laid it to one side, first opening the bill and putting a little piece of permican in its mouth. This was done to make the other eagles hungry. While in the pit, the man neither ate, drank, nor slept. He had a sleeping-place not far off, to which he repaired each night after dark, and there he ate and drank.

"The reason for taking the skull into the hole with the catcher was, in part, for his protection. It was believed that the ghost of the person to whom the skull had belonged would protect the watcher against harm from the eagle, and besides that, the skull, or ghost, would make the watcher invisible, like a ghost.

"The stick was used to poke or drive away smaller birds, such as magpies, crows, and ravens, which might alight on the roof of the pit, and try to feed on the bait. It was used, also, to drive away the white-headed eagle, which they did not care to catch.

"There are two sacred things connected with the catching of eagles——two things which must be observed if the eagle-catcher is to have good luck. The man who is watching must not eat rose—buds. If he does, the eagle, when he comes down and alights by the bait, will begin to scratch himself and will not attack the bait. Neither the man nor his wife must use an awl while he is absent from his lodge, and is trying to catch the birds. If this is done, the eagles will scratch the catcher."

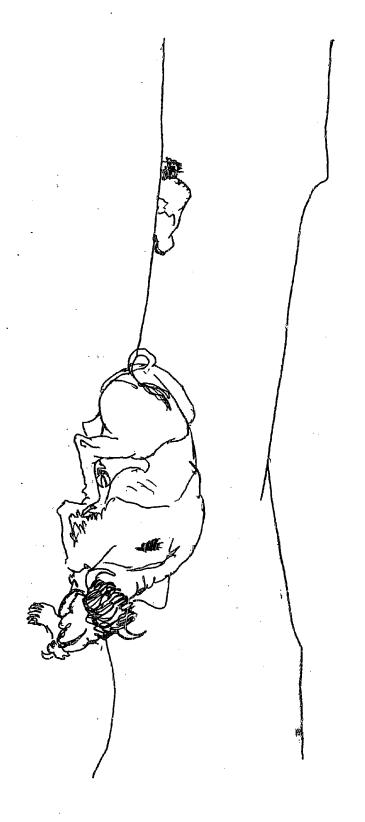




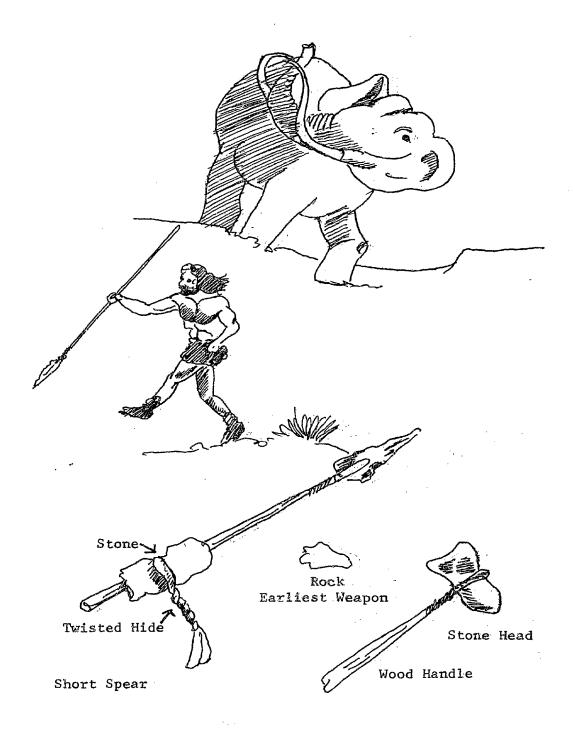
The Buffalo furnished a large part of the natural economy for the Blackfeet: meat for the main staple diet, hides for their clothing, tepee covers, robes for the lodge, and bones for some of their tools. They supplemented the buffalo meat with roots, berries and fruit, and actually needed very little more for a good, clean, carefree life. As the fur traders entered the Blackfeet country, the buffalo robe became an important trade item and the traders relied on the Blackfeet for buffalo meat, permitan and tallow. The Blackfeet had little interest in trapping.



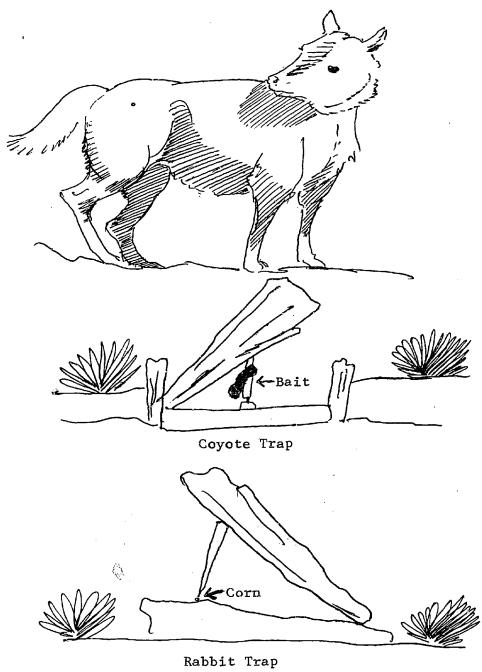














## THE PLAINS INDIANS FISHING

Nowhere in the area were fish staple, but sundry tribes caught fish at least when other food was scarce. If short of meat, the Cree caught river fish with the aid of "weirs," scooped them up, and clubbed them. In the winter, they used spears to spear at open places in the ice. The Blackfoot, in times of need, trapped fish in crude basketry traps. The Omaha speared fish with sharpened wooden sticks or shot them with special headless arrows. Mandan and Hidatsa village sites contain considerable numbers of catfish bones, suggesting that these villagers attached more value to such fare than most people in the area. This likewise indicated by the ritualistic aspect of catfish capture, the right to make a trap being regarded as a ceremonial privilege. The fisherman set up a weir of 6-foot po $^{
m les}$ in deep quiet water and used a basketry trap. Modern Iowa deny that their ancestors took fish in any other way than by spearing. The Eastern Dakota, who are of course not geographically plains people, consumed quantities of turtle and fish, but did not like to have them for the exclusion of meat. They hooked, speared, and shot fish with arrows. Whether the hooks were of native make remains questionable. The absence of reference to nets and the denial of the use of narcotics for drugging fish are noteworthy.

#### WILD PLANTS

Both farming and pure hunting tribes of the plains make use of berries---chokecherries, wild turnips, and the like. The wild turnip (Psoralea esculenta) ranked as a prized subsidiary focd, large quantities of the root being dug up in early summer to be peeled and dried for winter use. It grew in hard ground with the root extending some inches below the surface; consequently, women dug it up with some difficulty. The Eastern Dakota, like the Menomini and Ojibwa, harvested considerable quantites of wild "rice," one of two canoers paddling while his partner beat the seeds off into the canoe with a stick. To a lesser extent it was gathered in the Sand Hills of Nebraska.

Plant species, apart from dietary and ceremonial uses, served a variety of practical purposes. To take a few random instances from a single tribe, the Kiowa used the cottonwood for fuel; burned the wood of the post oak, ate its dried and pounded acorns and formerly made a drink of them; and manufactured points for bird arrows from the thorns of the prickly pear.



#### PREPARATION OF FOOD

The white man's flint-and-steal strike-a-light was adopted soon after contact, but the aboriginal fire drill lingered in memory. For tinder, the Crow used rotten bark or buffalo dropping, the latter serving very widely as a substitute for fuel in timberless country. The drill was revolved between the palms, the bow not being apparently employed for this purpose in the area.

Among the northern agricultural tribes, wooden mortars and pestles served to reduce corn to flour; even Pawnne sites noticeably lack the familiar Southwestern stone hammer or hand mill, which is common on prehistoric sites of Kansas and southern Nebraska. The semisedentary tribes made crude earthenware pots for boiling, while some of the nomads practiced "stone boiling," they lined a pit with a hide, filled it with water, and dropped red-hot rocks into it. The same effect was obtained by suspending a hide or paunch from four sticks driven into the ground. The Blackfoot and some other nomads, however, have traditions of ancient pottery vessels. Besides boiling, cookery techniques included roasting meat on a spit or broiling it on hot coals. The prairie turnip was often baked in hot ashes. For camas roots the Blackfoot dug a pit, placed very hot stones over the bottom, and covered them with wet willow foliage and branches, on which the roots were laid. Then they put willow brush on top, heaped earth over it, built a fire on the earth, and tended it for at least 36 hours, until the odor indicated that the camas was cooked. Raking away the fire, the women uncovered the food amidst a cloud of steam and took the root out of the earth oven. Roots not eaten at the time were stored in bags. This technique is clearly borrowed from the Plateau, of which the camas is typical.

Pemmican, preserved meat, merits special attention as probably all the tribes used it, since buffalo meat and venison were often not available fresh. Sun-dried slices of meat, pounded fine with a maul, were mixed with melted fat, marrow and the dry paste from wild cherries that had been crushed, pits and all.



### COOKING OF THE PLAINS INDIAN

Before contact with the white men, the Indians of the Plains did most of their cooking without utensils. Some of the earth-lodge people made very good pottery, but the typical Plains tribes made little or none, for it was not practical in their roving life. In even fairly recent times the Plains Indians cooked in the old ways, without utensils, when off on a war party or a hunt.

For a large group, one favorite method of cooking was in a hole in the ground. A pit about two feet wide and two feet deep was dug. If stones were handy, the pit was lined with them. A large fire was built in and above this pit and more stones heated in it. Such a fire would burn for an hour or more until the stones became red-hot. After the fire had burned down, the coals and loose stones were scraped from the pit without disturbing the lining stones any more than necessary.

A fresh hide from the hunt was used to line the hole. It was laid in, hair side down, and pieces of meat for the feast were placed on the flesh side. The skin was then folded over, so that only the flesh side came in contact with the meat, the hot stones and embers were placed on top of the folded hide, and the entire hole covered with dirt. Such an "oven" was then left undisturbed for several hours until the meat was thoroughly cooked. Of course the skin so used was ruined, but that was considered a small sacrifice for the resulting flavor and pleasure of the feast that followed. When no stones were available, the same procedure could be followed without them, but more coals were needed, consequently more fire.

On the eastern fringes of the prairies, where trees grew in variety, the pit was lined with green leaves---sweet ones---maple, sassafras, basswood, or wild grape. While sassafras leaves make meat taste exceptionally good, they give some vegetables a taste like medicine.

Before the days of brass or iron kettles, boiling was done in a buffalo paunch. The glandular meats—stounge, heart, kidneys, liver, paunch—-were the favorites. They wasted nothing in butchering.

One of the most familiar sights in an old tipi village was meat drying on rocks all over the camp. "Jerking" meat is becoming a lost art. The way the old women do this work does not look very difficult, but it requires skill and can prove to be a big job.



In butchering, the Indian followed the natural contours and muscle layers. He did not cut cross-grain or saw through bones, the way the white butcher does. Indians and early mountain men refused to eat cross-grain meat in former times.

Jerky can be made out of almost any piece of meat. The piece can be small, only a pound or so, or large. A very sharp butcher knife is required. A hunting knife is too thick-edged and usually too short for the job. An Indian butcher knife is sharpened on one side only, beveled on the top edge. It is held in the right hand with cutting edge to the left. This method of sharpening seems to be advantageous in jerking the meat.

First, cut straight through the center of the piece, stopping within a quarter of an inch of going clear through. Then the process is practically like unrolling the meat, first one side of the chunk and then the other. Hold the meat on the palm of the hand and work the knife carefully along through the meat, parallel to the surface of the palm. Be careful not to cut yourself. Some pieces are five and six feet long!

Skewers, usually of plum or cherry wood, are made to keep the long strips spread while drying. The strips are then hung in the hot sun on poles of the drying racks, which are made in various forms, high enough so that the dogs cannot reach them.

You need not worry about flies. The meat is cut so thin, not much over a quarter of an inch in thickness, that flies cannot "blow" it. And the cleaner the camp is kept, the fewer flies there will be. While drying the meat, make sure that no two surfaces touch. In hot sun, jerky will dry hard in a couple of days. It should be removed at night, piled up on a clean canvas and covered so it will not absorb moisture from the atmosphere. In cloudy or rainy weather, the meat may be hung indoors. Real Indian jerky is neither smoked nor salted. When it is properly cured, it is nearly as hard as iron, about the consistency of sole leather.

Perhaps the best "iron ration" ever discovered is the pemmican of the Plains Indians. To make pemmican, first roast jerky over coals until the grease begins to show and it takes on a rich brown color like seared fresh meat. Pound the roasted jerky fine. This is done on a clean canvas or some such surface, use a smooth, flat stone for an anvil for a pounder.

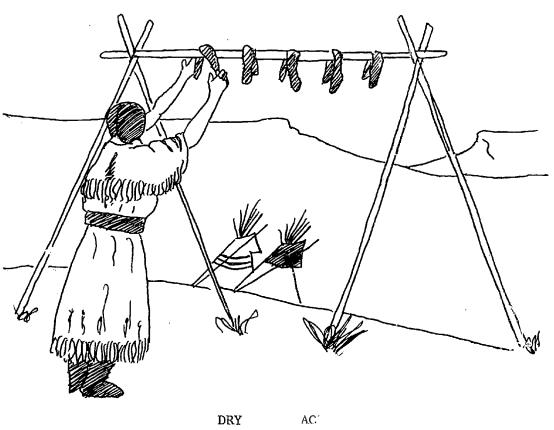
Now dry fresh chokecherries just enough to take out the excess moisture, then pound in the same way, enough to reduce the pits to a fine pulp as possible. Mix some of this cherry pulp with the



pounded jerky, pour melted suet over the whole mass, mix it thoroughly, and then pat into egg-shaped balls. In the old days the permican was stored in cases made of bladders or of rawhide, with melted suet poured over it, and sealed completely.

The cherry pulp, when not used in permican, was made into little flat cakes and thoroughly dried for future use. Service berries can be used in the same way.





DRY



#### THE TIPI

The tipi (Dakota word) was an approximately conical tent, originally covered with buffalo skins, later with canvas. Women put up and took care of the tipis and were generally considered their owners. The size and number of poles used varied a great deal. An Eastern Dakota tipi measured by Professor Wilson D. Wallis of the University of Minnesota had sixteen supporting poles, was fourteen feet high, and had a ground diameter of fourteen feet; for the cover the tribe is said to have used only seven or eight buffalo skins. This would be small, indeed, for Crow tipis, which averaged fourteen, the normal maximum being eighteen, and for a medicine lodge twenty or twenty-two skins. The Blackfoot. Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Dakota all used more poles. Favored by the proximity of the Bighorn Mountains, the Crow have kept up the erection of substantial tipis of extra height, some of the poles being thirty feet or even fourty feet long and towering so far above the cover as to suggest the shape of an hourglass for the tipi.

Basic and correlated with other differences is the use of either three or four poles as a foundation for the rest. The Cheyenne, Arapaho, Teton, Assiniboin, Kiowa, Gros Ventre, Cree, Hidatsa, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, Shoshone, Omaha, and Comanche use four. From observation and experience, professor W. S. Campbell finds that the three-pole type is the stauncher, offering greater resistance to winds, the Cheyenne form being most serviceable of all; the Crow variety is the most elegant in shape, though inferior in pai ad decoration to that of the Blackfoot, Dakota, Arapaho, and liowa.

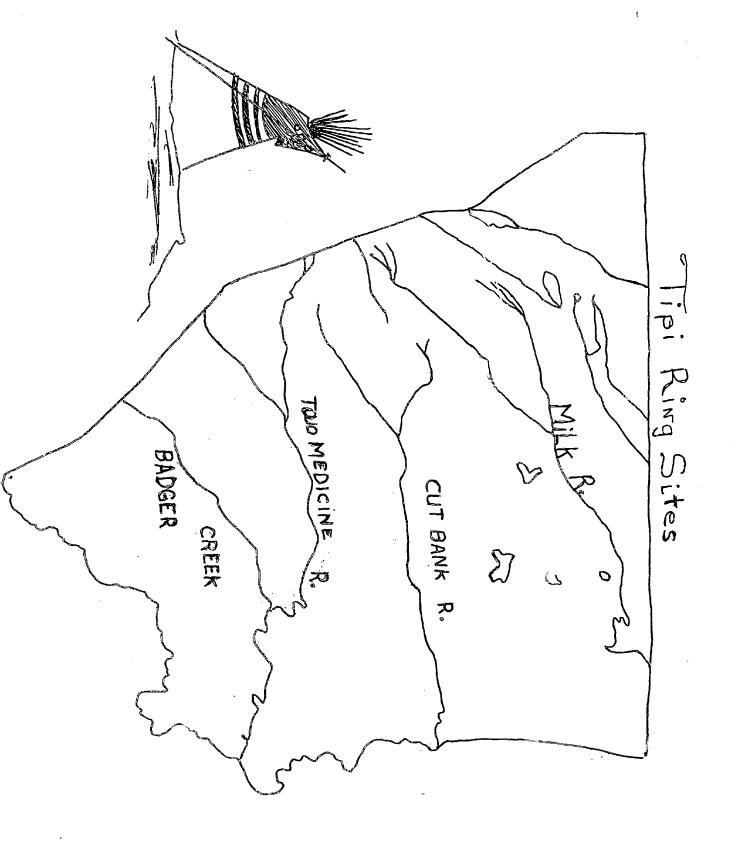
All the plains tipis are far more impressive then the similarly shaped tipis found among North Canadian tribes, Siberians, and Lapps. In pre-equestrian days the humbler form must have been prevalent since only shorter and lighter poles could have been readily transported. Quite probably this simpler variety, covered with bark or mats, was the original one and spread over a large area in North America and Euraisa.

Distinctive of the Plains tipi as compared with similar structures elsewhere was the regulation of the smoke vent. The fire-place was in the center; as an outlet for the smoke a hole was left at the tip and the tent cover was provided with flaps (ears) attached to two poles outside the general framework. By moving these extra poles it was possible to close the opening in bad weather.

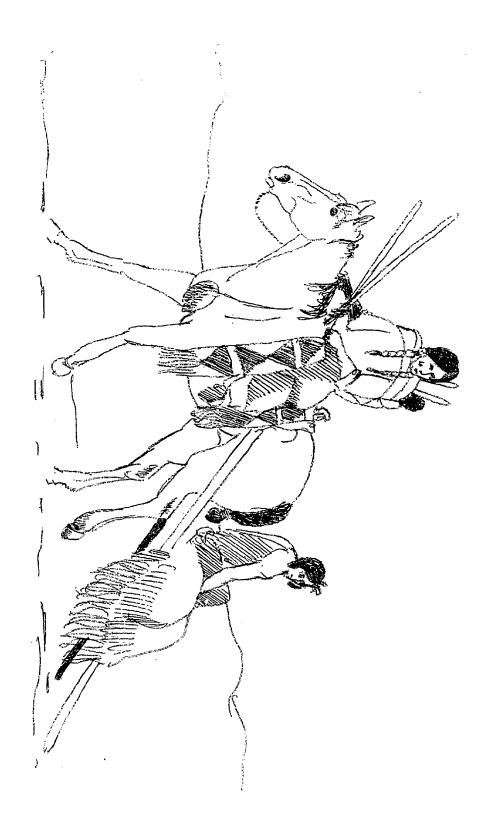


The entrance, a narrow opening in the cover, generally faced east, and the place of honor was in the rear. A skin curtain with two parallel sticks above and below shielded the opening and was lifted by a person entering and allowed to drop back into position after he had gained admittance.

The Blackfoot and Crow though like all plains Indians without chairs and stools, had backrests made of parallel willow
sticks united with sinew threads and hung from a tripod. These
tribes slept on robes placed on the ground, but the Arapaho had
a veritable bed, combining a backrest, at the head and foot, with
a platform a foot above the ground. Apart from ceremonial objects
in the rear, the bedding, and the backrests, the tipi held mainly rawhide containers and such utensils as wooden dishes, hornspoons, weapons, and implements. Several tribes used a skin lining at the back wall to keep out the draft.

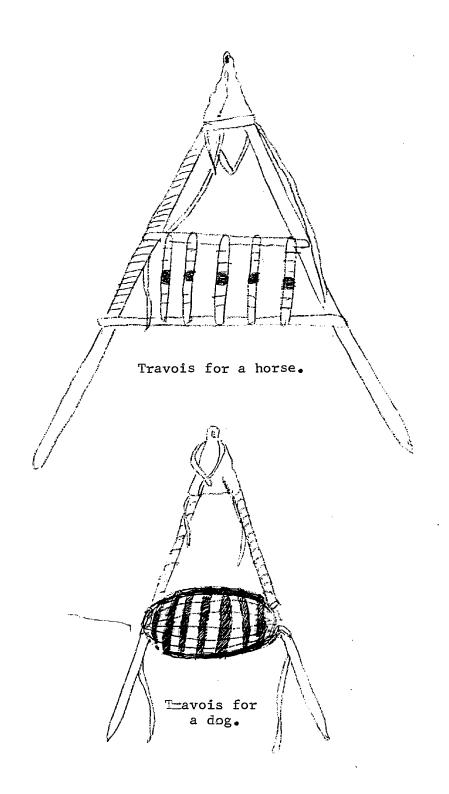






### TRAVOIS TRAVEL









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# THE INDIAN AND HIS HORSE

# THE BUFFALO HORSE

The coming of the horse changed the old type of hunting, and much of the change was due to the fast little animals that became known as buffalo horses. Most buffalo horses were males, though sometimes a mare was used. The preferred age of such a horse was four years old.

Much care was given to the selecting and training of a good buffalo horse. It had to possess great speed and endurance, and it had to be able to run over rough, uneven ground without stumbling. Intelligence was also very important. In hunting buffalo, the Indian needed both hands to handle his bow and arrows, and therefore, the horse had to learn to understand commands and respond to them at once. Some men trained their buffalo horses to obey spoken orders, while others trained them so that a slight shift of the rider's body, either to the left or to the right, would turn the horse. Some horses responded so well that they could be guided by the mere pressure of the rider's knee.

effc on the schooling of the horse. The horse first had to be trained to overcome its natural fear of the running buffaloes, a fear many of them could never be cured of. Once the horse had the courage to run alongside a buffalo, it had to learn to keep away from the sharp horns. With reins and a quirt the warrior forced the horse to respond to commands, and he repeatedly tested its ability to put on an extra burst of speed when needed.

The training period was often hard on the warrior, for during it he had no time to do any hunting for meat for himself and his family. But once the horse was fully trained, it became a priceless possession to its owner.

Since the Indians depended on the buffalo horses for securing meat, the horses were always well cared for. They were given daily exercise and, after a buffalo hunt, they were taken to a river where they were washed and rubbed down. No one but the horse's owner was ever permitted to ride it.

The owner of a buffalo horse kept it tied near his lodge, so a raiding party always knew where to look for the best horses. It was counted a high honor to be able to sneak into a village and get away with buffalo horses.



The horse put an end to the buffalo drive over the cliffs. A scout rode in search of buffaloes and, after sighting a herd, quickly reported back to the village. At once the chief called his principal men together to plan the hunt. A crier was sent through camp, telling the people to bring their buffalo, riding, and pack horses.

When all was in order, the men rode out, followed by the women and boys, who would later butcher the meat and bring it back to camp. When the herd was sighted a great distance from camp, the chief would order the women to break and move camp and set it up again closer to the actual hunting ground. Then the women could immediately bring in the butchered meat, cut it up into thin slices, and hang it on the drying racks, and the meat would not spoil.

The Indians had two methods of charging the buffaloes——the surround and the chase. In the surround the men rode around the herd against the wind, riding hard and fast to start the buffaloes milling about. Then they shot at the buffaloes on the edges of the throng. The chase was the more favored method. The men rode alongside a fleeing herd, hemming it in from both sides and shooting their arrows into the best of the animals as they rode.

ERIC FULL SALE PROVIDED BY FRIG

#### THE WAR HORSE

while some of the Indians used their buffalo horses in battle, many warriors trained special mounts to be used only on the war trail. The Indian's war horse, like his buffalo horse, had to have special traits and special training. In many ways the training given these mounts was the same as that given the buffalo horses, but additional training was required as well.

When hunting buffaloes the Indians were little clothing, and it was always plain, unadorned leggings and breechclout, moccasins, and a simple, short-sleeved shirt. In war, however, warriors donned fine costumes before actually meeting the enemy on the field of battle, for it was believed that war regalia had protective powers.

The war horse, therefore, had to be trained not to shy away from its master when he appeared in full regalia and war paint. It had to be taught, for example that a feathered war bonnet would not hurt it. To teach the horse, an Indian walked up to it, carrying his war bonnet in one hand and taking hold of the horses jaw rope with the other. Gently at first, he shook the feathers of the bonnet; then he swayed it from side to side and held it up for the horse to smell. Next the warrior faced the horse and placed the bonnet on his head. He walked slowly around the horse a few times, and after that the horse was no longer afraid of the headdress.

In battle, when a man wanted to dismount, either to scalp an enemy or to take his weapons, he needed both hands. But he did not want his horse to run away while he was gone, so the horse had to be trained to stop and wait for its master.

The warrior, going very fast, rode the horse with just a rope around its neck. Then he made a sudden stop and slid from the horse, holding the rope. When the horse started to shy away, the man gave the rope a good jerk. Remounting, he repeated the ride for a distance, dismounted, and, if necessary, jerked the rope violently again. Not liking this sudden jerking of the rope, the horse soon learned to stop and stand close to its master whenever he dismounted hurriedly.

Warfare between tribes was a loud, colorful, and confusing spectacle. To teach their war horses control during the confusion of a pitched battle, the men of a village often conducted sham battles among themselves, with as much uproar as if they were real. During this sham warfare, the horses were trained to turn, in response either to body movement or knee pressure, and some really intelligent horses were trained to rear up and use their front hoofs to strike the enemy at close quarters.



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The horse was decorated and painted before and after battle. In preparing for war, the warrior braided the lower end of his horse's tail and tied it in a knot. The warriors usually painted a red circle around each of the animal's eyes before a battle. These circles, they believed, would help the horse see danger ahead. Zigzag stripes were painted upon the front legs of an exceptionally fast horse. They represented lightning, the symbol of speed. If an Indian and his horse had been wounded in a former battle, the old scars were painted with a red spot from which a crooked line ran downward, representing the flow of blood.

Every Indian had high regard for his war horse. He cared for it well, and always gave it the honors it deserved.

# THE PLAINS INDIANS TOOLS

The obvious superiority of metal tools soon led the Indians to abandon their earlier equivalents of bone, stone, etc. It is accordingly difficult to reconstruct their aboriginal tool kit. Nevertheless, some ancient implements have survived into the present or recent past, some have been described by early travelers, still others are revealed by archaeological excavation.

Even in recent years Indian women pounded chokecherries on a flat stone slab with a stone hammer grooved round the middle and hafted by wet rawhide shrunken to a wooden handle passed around the groove. With such mauls a Crow or Blackfoot woman also made chokecherries for pemmican or broke up bones to extract the marrow. The stone heads of war clubs were mounted in similar fashion; some were spherical, others pointed at both ends, still others ax-shaped. Such clubs were sometimes used for killing a wounded buffalo in the corral.

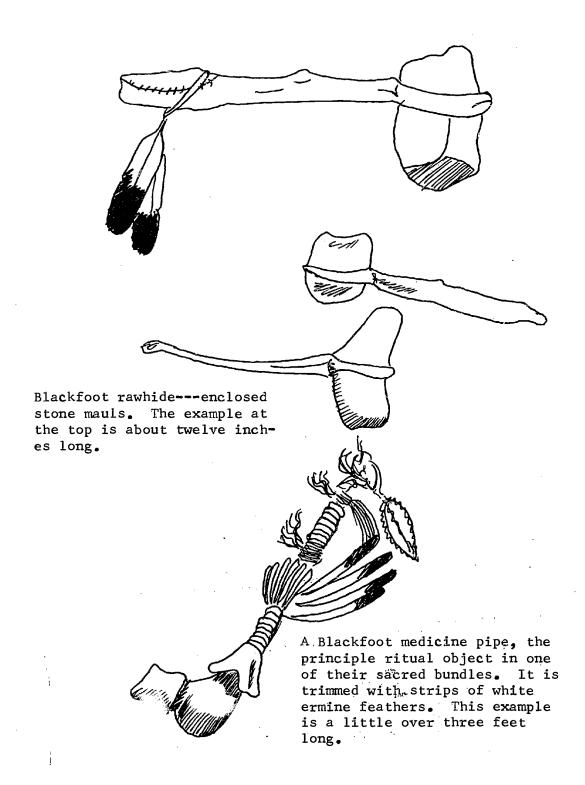
Water-worn pebbles and slabs struck from their outer surfaces served as scrapers. Arrow shafts were smoothed between two grooved stones. Knives were of stone or bone. Coronado saw buffalo-hunting nomads cut off mouthfuls of meat with such knives. Blackfoot arrowheads were said to have been more frequently of bone, deer, and buffalo horn.

Pipes were commonly of stone, especially catlinite. The quarry for this red stone lies in southwestern Minnesota, which is in Eastern Dakota tribal territory, but catlinite pipes were diffused to distant tribes, such as the Arapaho and Crow. The Arapaho had black stone pipes as well, and the Blackfoot shaped their pipe bowls from a dark greenish stone found in their territory. Some pipes were venerated as extremely sacred.

Bone awls served to punch holes in sewing; they were noted by Coronado's men in 1541. Excavators of old Pawnee dwelling sites have found fragments of perforated buffalo and elk ribs, presumably for straightening arrow shafts, also picks of deer and buffalo bone for digging. In general use among the villagers was a hoe made from the shoulder blade of a buffalo. Skin dressers employed several implements of bone, horn and antler. Fleshers with minute notches forming a finely dense were made from the foot bones of large game animals. In dressin a deerskin the hide was thrown over a log and cleaned of hair with a rib or leg bone.



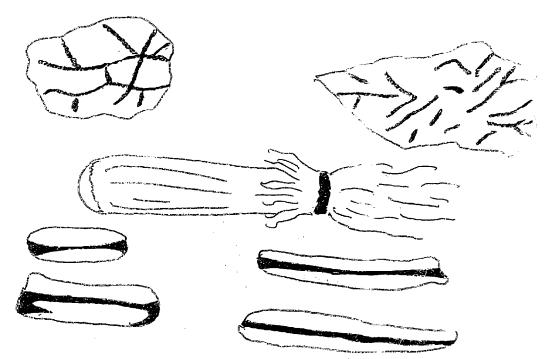
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Blackfoot hairbrushes: Left, porcuping brinities on a stick, bound with rawhide; right, horsehair, also bound with rawhide.



Top; chipped stone knives from the Blackfoot.

Center; a model of a Blackfoot bone knife decorated with fur, about one foot long.

Bottom; Pawnee arrow---smoothers used for arrow sharts, two or three inches long.



Among the Plains Indians, stone sculpture was absent and wood carving, as a craft, too little developed to foster artistry. On the other hand, there was a good deal of pairing and of decorative art in quills and later in beadwork.

Painting was executed on buffalo robes, tipi covers Rarfleches, and other hide or skin objects. The colors were onerived largely from iron-containing clays, which yielded cowns red, and yellow, while a black earth or charcoal provided back. aboriginal use of green and blue, though contested, se as established. Paints were pulverized in stone mortars and mixed with a gluey material that made the colors stick. The artist, action held the paints in hollow stones, shells, or shereds. Brushes, one for each color, were of bone, horn, or woods latter a tuft of antelope hair was mounted on a stick. The Hidatter first pressed the designs into the hide, then applied the paint over them, and finally set the paint with the glue. The paint outlined the patterns and could be used without colors on rts of a hide. The hide to be decorated was extended on the and a the artist crouching over it, sometimes aided by a colleague especially in pictographic work.

In general, geometric designs were done by the women, relistic forms by men; the two styles were very rarely combined on one "canvas."

As for theme, the robes preponderantly represent scenes of tattle and raiding. Human and equine figures are by far most common, jointly appearing in most of the specimens examined; even the buffalo is rare, the dog completely lacking. Perspective was absent; figures both human and animal, generally appeared in profile. Though there was composition in the portrayal of hand-to-hand encounters of the looting of an enemy's horses, there was hardly any attempt to coordinate all the scenes of a hide into a unified painting. Individual figures are variously represented: hoofs may be either realistically drawn or provided with a mosk; human legs and arms may be lifelike or merely suggested by straight lines; the head is often merely outlined, in other cases only an eye and the nose are indicated; manes may be omitted or emphasized; figures are either in solid color or merely in contour.

In the decoration of their parfleches the Plains Indians achieved a distinctive style. Though the simplest geometric forms——straight lines, triangles, rectangles, diamonds——predominate, they are arranged



in a variety of combinations, some of which characterize subdivisions of the area. An artist would scrape away portions of the pigmented layer of the buffalo skin, leaving sections of lighter or darker shading. Whatever may be the relative antiqunity of the two procedures, incising was certainly practiced at one time.

The two main parfleche flaps are symmetrically decorated; in addition, the northwestern tribes——Sarsi, Blackfoot, Crow, Assiniboin, Dakota, and the marginal Nez Perce and Kutena——decorate the side flaps, though with less care. Straight lines preponderate, but curves crop up among the Blackfoot. The Crow stand out for the precision of their lines, the Wind River Shoshome and Southern Ute coming next.

The decorative area is mostly oblong, but the northwestern tribes main show distinctiveness in substituting a trapezoid for the textangle, this being always the case among the Sarsi and Kuterai. The equently among the Blackfoot and Assiniboin and occasionally elsewhere. Some tribes enclose the decorative field in a frame, which others completely lack.

A very common trait is a central stripe that extends through the middle of the flap and either forms the basis of a large central figure or divides the field into two symmetrical panels. Although there has doubtlessly been a great deal of trading back and forth in recent times, some patterns remain absent or rare in certain tribes and common in others. The Crow, for example, are fond of vertically unbisected large diamonds in the center, while favoring neither the clear-cut two-panel system nor the slender figures that often seem to divide the decorative field of the Arapaho or Cheyenne into five as against the three longitudinal units of the Crow.

The embroidered patterns are very diverse and sometimes markedly complex; a crafts-woman might even succeed in quilling bird forms, horses, and mounted braves in full regalia. Elaboration, however, was a comparatively late development.

In the quillwork that unquestionably preceded beadwork, angular geometric designs predominated; floral patterns in the Plains were either intrusions from the Woodlands or, later still, due to French influence. This angular style, based on triangles, rectangles, and their combinations, is to be correlated with the prevalent "two-thread" technique.

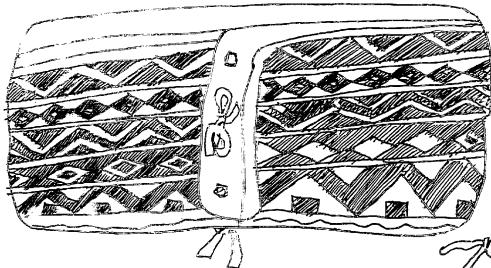


Bead embroidery hardly developed on the Plaims prior to 1835-1840, when white traders began to introduce whina and glass beads on a considerable scale. The modern style set in with the availability of much smaller beads, whose precise character indicates the age of the decorated pieces, and came to fruition from 1880 to 1900. Tribal the ferences, both technological and stylistical, asserted themselves in this later period. The Dakota, Cheyenne, and Arapino adhered to the lazy stich; the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Plains Creek, and Flathead made exclusive use of the overlay.

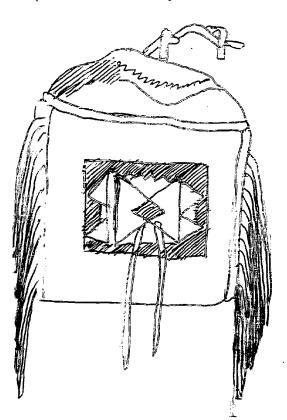
Apart from the widespread features just listed, subareal differences evolved. We can distinquish a northwestern style typical of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Plains Cree, and Flathead. Hundreds of little oblings or squares are united to form large patterns, usually of a single color, with borness varicolored squares. The figures include stepped triangles, squares, dismonds, crosses, oblique wide bands with sweepped long sides.



Two painted and feather-decorated saields used by Crow Ladians. These are about twenty inches in diameter.



A painted rawhide parfleche from the Blackfoot.



A painted Blackfoot rawhide bag decorated with buckskin fringe.



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A Blackfoot rawhide container for ritual objects.



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# THE INCIAN AND HIS HEADDRESS

The tribe to which an Indian belonged could at one time, be told by the type of headdress he wore. Each tribe had a distinct type of headgear. This varied from the well known eagle-feather war bonnet of the Dakota Sioux to the turban worn by the Iroquois.

The turban was usually of a woven fabric and was wound around the head to give it shape. It was then stiched to hold its form and then ornamented with feathers and trinkets. Besides the Iroquois, the Nenomini Indians wore a turban type headgear. In the Southwest some of the desert tribes, such as the Navajo, wore turbans of broad headbands.

The Tlighets of the western coast wore a wooden headdress made to represent a whale. It was painted black and decorated with human hair. The Kwakiutl Chief's headdress was carved and painted then inlaid with abalone shells. The designs included the whale, raven and a carved human head.

In regions adjacent to the Pacific coast the tribes wore a sombrero type hat though much smaller and more cylindrical peaked. One of the customs of these people was to give "potlatches" or gift feast, in which they gave away more of their property. For every "hyas potlatch," or heap big feast, the wearer of such a hat was entitled to have a ring added to the top of the tube shaped peak. The number of rings on such a hat indicated the generosity of the wearer.

The Iroqueous also were a feathered cap that was made upon a frame. A band of basket-splints the size of the head was sewen together and a framework of narrower splints was built over this forming an open dome. Fastened to the top of this was a pocket in which was placed a short spindle, the latter having a ball at the bottom which kept it from falling out. In early days this was covered with tanned skin, later with velvet or fabric and bound at the rim with a piece of ornamental quill or beadwork. On the spindle was thrust an eagle feather, and about the pocket was circle after circle of down and wing feathers. Often there were several "exploit" feathers trailing loosely behind.

The Hidatsa, of the Gros Ventre on the Missouri, had a custom that the first man to touch and kill an enemy wore a feather with a horsehair tuft; the second to strike the enemy wore a feather with one red bar; the third to strike an enemy wore two red bars on the feather; and the fourth to strike an enemy add three bars to his feather. Wounded men wore feathers with a band of quill



work. The Omaha wore a roach made of a deer's tail and turkey neck hair which was dyed red to designate one who had won first honors. The Saux and Fox also had a deer tail roach headdress.

For certain ceremonies the Cheyenne wore a buffalo horn head-dress. The Blackfeet, as did other tribes of the Northern Plains, wore a fur cap in winter. This could be made of the pelt of the coyote, otter or badger. Such a cap was also worn by the Omaha and the Osage. One type of this brimless hat of fine fur was shaped much like a fox but not quite as high in proportion. The Ponce had a fur hat that was often decorated with quill, beadwork or shells. This too, like the hat of the Omaha and Osage, often had jingles on it and the back of the hat sometimes had a stream of feathers and a short beaded band on it.

The most famous of all the Indian headdress, the one we see most Indians pictured wearing today, is the picturesque headdress of the Dakota Sioux. This probably originated among the Mandan and Hidatsa. As in most Indian headdresses, the feathers had a special meaning and they were known as "exploit" feathers. A feather with a red spot on the top signified the killing of an enemy. If the feather was cut off at the top it meant the enemy's throat had been cut. Notches in various parts of the feather showed whether the warrior had been second, third or fourth counting coup on the enemy, while cut edges of the feather showed he had been wounded in battle. This war bonnet had special significance and was worn only on special occasions. It is believed the oldest definite picture of a war bonnet was a drawing on a buffalo hide. This was apparently made in Mexico about 1730 and found there by a Jesuit missionary about 1765. The picture was a simple type war bonnet without the elaboration and decoration found later. The oldest dated headdress was collected at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas in 1838. It has been suggested that the war bonnet is decended mainly from the feathered brow band worn by many of the tribes living along the Atlantic Coast in the early period of the discovery of this country, or the 16th century. Tribes of Indians speaking the Siouan language lived in the East and later moved West, reaching the Plains several hundred years ago. It is possible they combined this head band with a skin skull cap used by the Plains Apaches of this period. The Sioux developed the war bonnet, adding to it after the horse was introduced in the late 1600°s. The treeless prairie was ideal for the wearing of this huge feathered crown, and the horse also made an ideal setting for it.

Most of the war bonnets we see and know are the swept back types with the feathers on the cap leaning towards the rear. This



is sometimes referred to as a spreading eagle headdress. This type was popular among the central and southern Plains Indians. The Blackfoot of the northwest have a straight-up type which lacks the cap and has the feathers upright from a wide headband. Another type found mostly among the eastern Apaches is one on which the feathers slope out evenly all the way around. Some of the headdresses have an added feature of a tail or strip of cloth hanging down the wearer's back from the rear edge of the cap. The strip may be one row of feathers making a single tail, or two rows of feathers in a double tail. These tails were used on the war bonnets throughout the plains. The "Medicine" bonnet is mostly a central plains trait and most often worn by the Medicine Man. The war bonnet was worn only as a symbol or recognition of skill and success in war. It could not be worn by just any man. Only in rare ceremonial circumstances could a woman ever wear this sacred object. The bonnet was worn at times during battles or raids, and always as part of the full dress costume in tribal affairs and on other peaceful occasions. A warrior was usually awarded a war bonnet by action of the tribe or band. A man who boosted too much might be given a war bonnet by the women of the tribe and thus be forced to back up his claims by actions. There were occasions when a young man would make himself a war bonnet, then prove his right to wear it through his warlike deeds.

Among the Omaha, a very young man might be given the right to wear the war bonnet through a peculiar custom which existed in the tribe. The bonnet was really in this case more of a challenge. The donor of the war bonnet might be an enemy of the young man's family, so the gift of the bonnet was really an act of revenge as the young man must then take to the warpath and kill an enemy. Often the young man upon hearing of this pending gift would hide in the woods to avoid receiving it. If found he would be hauled back to the village, placed upon a high seat, and the bonnet formally presented to him. This was done amid the wailing and mourning of his relatives. The receipt of this type of bonnet was often the same as a sentence of death to a warrior who was young and inexperienced. If the young warrior came back from a war party with honors, he was allowed to wear the bonnet.

The women as a rule did not wear headgear, their own hair being their shinning glory. They did, however, in cold or rainy weather throw a shawl over their hair. It was the Indian man and not the woman who needed the milliner and he was just as particular about his bonnet as any modern day lady.



Face paint, headdress and necklace of a Blackfoot Medicine Man.





# GAMES OF THE INDIANS

Nearly all American Indian tribes played a great number of games, most of which fall into two catagories. 1. Games of chance, 2. Games of dexterity. Games of pure skill and calculation, such as chess, were absent from early Indian games. There were a few games believed to have magical effects, and other games played only during festivals or religious occasions.

Games of chance were of two types. 1. Games in which implements, in the nature of dice, were thrown at random to determine a number or numbers, the sum of the count being kept by means of sticks, pebbles, or bits of bone. 2. Games in which one or more players guessed in which of two or more places an odd or strangely marked lot was concealed; success or failure resulting in the gain or loss of counters.

Games of dexterity were classified as: 1. Archery in its various modifications. 2. Games of sliding javelins or darts upon the ground or ice. 3. Games of shooting at a moving target consisting of a netted wheel or a ring. 4. Ball games in several highly specialized forms. 5. Racing games more or less related and complicated with the ball games.

In games of chance a man might gamble away all of his property, and dice games of some type were played by 130 tribes belonging to 30 linguistic stocks. Rules for dice games varied from tribe to tribe, but the essential implements consisted of dice, and the instrument for keeping count. The dice with only varied exceptions, had two faces distinguished by colors or markings, and were made of split cane, wooden staves, blocks, beaver or woodchuck teeth, walnut shells, plum or peach stones, grains of corn, bone, shells, brass or pottery disks. The dice were either thrown by hand or tossed in a bowl or basket. The basket or bowl dice games were usually played by women. Scores for both types were kept either by sticks or counters which passed from hand to hand, or the count was sometimes kept on a piece of wood.

A game, somewhat like that of "Button, button whose got the button." was played with a pair of small objects, one marked with a string around the middle, the other plain. The object was to guess in which hand the unmarked object was held.

Moccasins were commonly used to hide small objects. The player had to guess in which moccasin an object was hidden. This was sometimes called "Hidden ball" game.



Games of dexterity were also accompanied by heavy gambling. These games used arrows or darts which were tossed or shot at a given mark. Archery was another of this type of game.

"Snow-snake" was a man's game. This was played with a long flattened stick or pole usually ten feet long, the forward end slightly curved upward like the runner of a sled, and sometimes carved to resemble the head of a snake. The rear end was slightly notched making a place for the fingers when throwing the stick. The "snake" was thrown along the surface of the snow or in a straight shallow groove which had been made hollow by drawing a log through the snow. The players casting for distance, the farthest "snake" winning a point for its owner. At times pegs were set up and the "snake" had to reach beyond these.

Hoop and pole was played throughout the North American continent. This consisted of shooting an arrow, or throwing an arrow or spear at a hoop or ring. The counts determined by the way the dart fell in reference to the target. The implements for this were the hoop or target, the darts or poles and the counters. A common widely used form of hoop was one of twined network resembling a spider web. Some tribes had small rings covered with beads of different colors set at points of equal distance around the inner side of the hoop, each color having a certain count. Hoops were also made of saplings lashed with rawhide. The darts could be arrows shot from bows, or thrown by hand. Long poles were often used. This was played by two or many, and by the men.

Indian ball games could be classified as: 1. A type of game in which the ball was tossed with a racket. 2. Shinny in which the ball was struck with a club. 3. Double ball played with two balls or wooden billets tied together and tossed with a stick. This game was usually a woman's game. 4. The ball races in which a ball or stick is kicked. 5. Football. 6. Hand and football. 7. Tossedball. 8. Juggling. 9. Hotball. Games of the first three classes were almost universal among the Indians, while the ball races seemed to have been mostly in the Southwest. Types of balls used varied from wood, bladder netted with sinew, bone or stone.

Lacrosse is the best known of the Indian games. The name comes from the "crosse" a racket like stick, carried by the players. Lacrosse is one of the oldest and fastest games known, and one of the games adopted by the white man.



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Shinny was a favorite Indian sport. This was played with a small ball, and a stick three or four feet long curved at the end. Two goal posts or stakes were set three feet apart at the end of the field. The ball was placed in a shallow pit in the center of the field and the team lined up just inside the goal posts. At a signal, both teams rushed to the hole to get the ball and drive it into their opponents goal. The ball could not be touched by any part of the body. This was usually a woman's game and any number could play.

Children's games were much the same as those played today. Jumping rope, tag, hide and seek, and games of skill. Boys and girls seldom played together. Boys had stilts made of cottonwood, about 54½ inches in length, the footrest wrapped in colored cloth. Tops were one of the most universal of children's games. This was usually a winter pastime and the most usual top was the whip top. This was made of wood, bone, stone or clay and was sometimes painted. Other types of tops were those made from disks of wood, bone, or ivory with a wooden or bone spindle. A pierced slat was used to hold the top while the string was unwound. The string being of sinew or black cord.





AMERICAN INDIAN DANCES



#### AMERICAN INDIAN DANCES

The dances of the American Indian have many significant gestures. These getures, for example, in the Dance of the Dying Eagle, the dancer begins with short running steps which depicts the flight of the bird. He does figure eight movements which represent the bird riding air currents. The quick, stepping motion and the movement of the dancer's arms, (to tell of the wings) symbolize the eagle coming to land. Throughout this dance, which is a very poetic one, the dancer's movements tell a very complicated and exacting story until all is ended by the dancers final fluttering arm movements which portray a wounded and dying bird.

To read through or see a description of a story done through dance is one of the most revealing aspects of Indian culture. This shows his keen power of observation. Catching all the little details of the animal or story he is portraying makes it very real.

Of the instruments the Indians used, the Plains Indians tomahawk was one of their most valued implements. It served him in war, in hunting, and working. A brave seldom went anywhere without his tomahawk. He kept it sharp, clean, and beautifully decorated. So there came a dance to honor this useful tool. In the "Lost Tomahawk" the dancer exhibits deep pride and admiration for his cherished tomahawk. It is a very basic dance and the story is clear.

Another idea in teaching dancing is that the student be allowed to use his own ideas and his own fashions, in developing their dance technique. This idea has proved to work well and is another means in which tribes used their creative talents to the full extent.



# ANIMAL DANCES





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HORSE TAIL DANCE



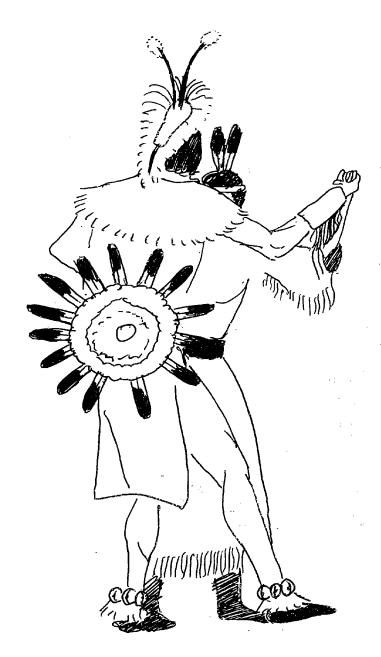


WAR DANCE

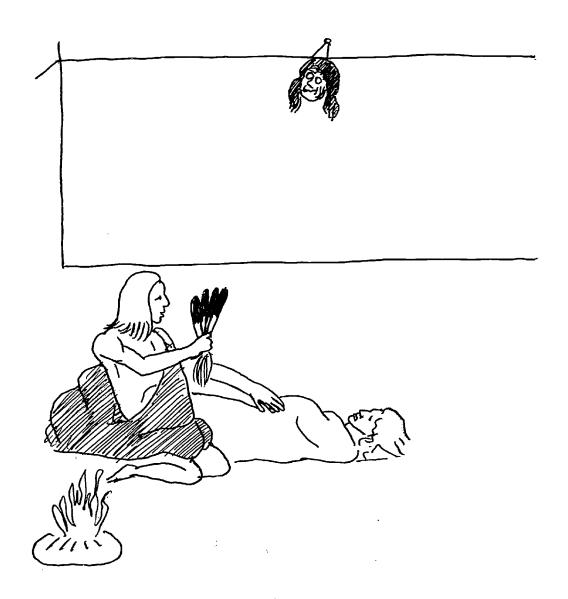


Dance of the Dying Eagle





OWL DANCE



MEDICINE MAN

# INDIAN MEDICINE

The Indiian term "to make medicine" has always confused the white man. Sometimes it was real medicine treatment and at other times nothing but superstition. It could be nothing more than a ceremony.

Though Indians did not always understand internal illness, they were pretty good at setting bones, pulling teeth, and healing large wounds. The Indians used many herbs which had actual medical powers.

Mud which the Indian put on infections had a type of a mold in the dirt which acted like a crude penicillin. The early white man laughed at the Indian medicine but in some cases had no better medicine.

The rule for making medicine is taught to each Indian by his father or other relative. Each warrior must have some individual secret ingredient in his own power or medicine suited to the peculiar superstition of the individual. To decide on this special secret ingredient the warrior is required to go alone to some thicket or other solitary place, and there remain some days in religious meditation of the all-important question of his life. When his vital power has become exhausted from hunger and thirst he falls in a trance, during which the secret ingredient is revealed to him perhaps in a dream.

The Indian believed he had a "medicine" which would influence the "Great Spirit" in his favor. Various medicines were kept in amulets or good luck charms, some of these medicines were: sands of various colors; certain plants; ashes from certain portions of human beings, birds, animals or reptiles; bones, seeds or roots. The superstition of the individual, the combination of colors, and other peculiarities varied what was kept.







# CEREMONIAL RITES OVER INDIVIDUAL PATIENTS

A study of the ritualistic medicine of the Indians reveals that there was a subtle distinction as to the source of the occult powers possessed by the medicine men in different tribes.

The variations of these ceremonies by the several tribes and the individual medicine men could be presented in almost countless numbers. But a few actual examples may be sufficient to make clear the nature of this phase of the Early Americans practice of the healing art.

The first example is that of a patient who was treated by a famous Blackfoot medicine man called Petewarupti (Wonderful One) during the first quarter of the 19th century. The patient was a woman who had been sick for sometime and finally startled her family by remaining unconscious for twenty-four hours. It was then that Petewarupti was called in. While his assistant rolled the water drum, the shaman sat silently by the patient for a long time. At last he moved, put his mouth to her head and began to suck. He sucked for a long time, until he seemed suddenly thrust away from the patinet. When he finally regained his balance, he spit a stone out of his mouth. Then he and his assistant carried her down to the brook which ran through the village. There they held the woman under water until she began to struggle. When they released her, she walked home a well woman.

Petewarupti was called to see another woman, and as soon as he saw her he said she was not sick, but had the spirit of a horse. He mixed mud with the stallion's urine and covered her body with it and put a streak of the paste over her forehead and nostrils. Then he took from his medicine bag a quirt made of downy feathers. With this he whipped her until she suddenly began to neigh like a horse. In a few days she was entirely well.

In 1830 a Blackfoot brave had been shot twice in the stomach at close range by a Knistineauh warrior, and seemed to be on the point of death. Heroic measures had to be used. George Catlin reports the incident, which he witnessed. "The spectators, several hundred in mumber, gathered around the dying man, leaving him in the space of about forty feet in diameter, and at one side leaving a path so that the medicine man could enter the circle without the crowd. There was dead silence as he cautiously crept into the circle in a crouching pose and lilting steps, his head and body were entirely covered by a yellow bear skin, the head of



which served as a mask, and the paws dangled from his wrists and legs. This color of bear skin was an anomaly and to the fur of it were attached dozens of skins or parts of animals that showed unusual deformities; snaked beaks, bats beaks, toes and tails of birds; hoofs of deer, goat, and antelope; and other similar objects. In one hand the medicine man carried a gourd rattle and in the other brandished his medicine spear. As he approached the recumbent figure he suddenly burst into wild activity, shaking his rattle and emitting the appalling grunts, snarls, and finally growls of a grizzly. These he intermingled with loud cries, ejaculations, and gutteral incarnations to the gods. There were terrific screams, shouts and yelps of the entire audience. All the while the medicine man danced around, pushed at and leaped over, pawed and rolled the patient with his spear, he thrust at the evil spirits on the sick man, or waved the spear over the body. The riot lasted about a half an hour, ending only with the death of the patient."

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# MATERIAL MEDICARI OF BLACKFOOT

- KA-TOYA-----Balsam Fir: burned for incense in ceremonials, used in poultices for fevers and colds in the chest and also for hair oil.
- SE-PAT-SEMO-------Sweet Grass: burned for incense and used also for making hair tonic by soaking in water.
- EK-SISO-KE-------Bear Grass: boiled in water as a tonic for falling hair, roots were grated and placed in boiling water for breaks and sprains. The inflammation was reduced by holding in steam. The roots were also placed upon cuts to stop bleeding and allay inflammation.
- NITS-IK-OPA------Squaw Root: for sore throat and placed on swelling to draw out inflammation, also eaten as a vegetable and for flavoring stew.
- OKS-PI-POKU------Alkali Lily: root was pounded up and applied wet to sores and swellings to allay inflammation.
- APOS-IPOCO------Alum Root: pounded up and used wet as an application for sores and swellings.
- MAIS-TO-NATA------Blazing Star: root was boiled and applied to swellings. A tea was also made with it for stomachache.
- MATOA-KOA-KSI-------Willow Leaved Dock: boiled for swellings.
- A-SAT-CHIOT-AKE-----Loco Weed: chewed for sore throats.
- A-SA-PO-PINATS------Windflower: dead flower was burned for head-ache.
- SIX-IMAS------Bane Berry: root boiled for coughs and colds.
- SIX-OCASIM-----Indian Horehound: compounded with other plants for babies' colds.
- KAKS-AMIS-----Sage: boiled as a drink for mountain fever.



OTSQUE-EINA-----Oregon Grape: roots were boiled and used for stomach troubles, also for hemorrhages.

A-MUCH-KO-IYATSIA----Alder: hot drink from bark for scrofula.

NA-NE-KA-PE------Horse Mint: eye wash of blossoms in warm water.

KINE-----Rose Berries: drink made of root given to children for diarrahea.

OMAKA-KA-TANE-WAN-----Ground Cherry: berries boiled for diarrhea.

KITA-KOP-SIM------Silver Weed: root used for diarrhea.

SIX-IN-OKO------Red Cedar; berries made tea to stop vomiting.

E-SIMATCH-SIS----Pine Lichen: used for headache.

# MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

As a rule, before a young man could marry, he was required to have made some successful expeditions to war against the enemy, therby proving himself a brave man, and at the same time acquiring a number of horses and other property, which would enable him to buy the woman of his choice, and afterwards to support her.

Marriages usually took place at the insistance of the parents, though often those of the young man were prompted by him. Sometimes the father of the girl, if he desired to have a particular man for a son-in-law, would propose to the father of the latter for the young man as a husband for his daughter.

The marriage in the old days was arranged after this wise idea: The chief of one of the bands may have a marriageable daughter, and he may know of a young man, the son of a chief of another band, who is a brave warrior, of good character, sober-minded, steadfast, and trustworthy, who he thinks will make a good husband for his daughter and a good son-in-law. After he has made up his mind about this, he is very likely to call in a few of the principal men among his relatives and state to them his conclusions, so as to get their opinions about it. If nothing is said to change his mind, he sends a messenger to the father of the boy to state his views and ask how the boy's father feels about the matter.

On receiving this word, the boy's father probably calls together his close relations and discusses the matter with them. If the match is satisfactory to him, he sends back word to that effect. When this message is received, the relations of the girl proceed to outfit her with the very best that they can provide.

During the days which intervene between the proposal and the marriage, the young woman each day selects the choicest parts of the meat brought to the lodge, cooks these things in the best style, and, either alone or in company with a young sister or a young friend, goes over to the lodge where the young man lives, and places the food before him. He eats some of it, a little or a great deal. If he leaves anything, the girl offers it to his mother, who may eat of it. Then the girl takes the dishes and returns to her father's lodge. In this way she provides him with three meals a day, until the marriage takes place. Every one in camp who sees the girl carrying the food in a covered dish to the young man's lodge knows that a marriage is to take place. The



girl is watched by idle persons as she passes to and fro, so that the task is quite a trying one for people as shy and bashful as Indians are. When the time for the marriage has come, when the girls parents are ready, the girl, her mother assisting her, packs the new lodge and her own things on the horses and moves out into the middle of the circle -- about which all the lodges of the tribes are arranged---and there the new lodge is unpacked and set up. In front of the lodge are tied a number of horses, the girls dowry given by her father. Very likely, too, the father has sent over to the young man his own war clothing and arms, a lance, a fine shield, a bow and arrows in otter-skin case, his war bonnet, a war shirt, and war leggings ornamented with scalps: his complete equipment. All these gifts are set up on a tripod in front of the lodge. The gift of these things is an evidence of the great respect felt by the girl's father for his son-in-law. As soon as the young man has seen the preparations being made for setting up the girl's lodge in the center of the circle, he sends over to his father-in-law's lodge just twice the number of horses that the girl brought with her.

As soon as the new lodge is set up, and the girl's mother has taken her departure and gone back to her own lodge, the young man, who, until he saw these preparations, had no knowledge of when the marriage was to take place, leaves his father's lodge, and going over to the newly erected one, enters and takes his place at the back of it. Probably during the day he will order his wife to take down the lodge, and either move away from the camp or at least move into the circles of lodges; for he will not want to remain with his young wife in the most conspicuous place in the camp. Often, on the same day, he will send for six or eight of his friends, and, after feasting with them, will announce his intention of going to war, and will start off the same night. If he does so, and is successful, returning with horses or scalps, or both, he at once, on arrival at the camp, proceeds to his father-in-laws lodge and leaves there everything he has brought back, returning to his own lodge on foot, as poor as he left it.

We have supposed the proposal in this case to come from the father of the girl, but if a boy desires a particular girl for his wife, the proposal will come from his father; otherwise matters are managed in the same way.

The ceremony of moving into the middle of the circle was only performed in the case of important people. The custom was observed in what might be called a fashionable wedding among the Blackfeet. Poorer, less important people married more quietly.



If the girl had reached marriageable age without having been asked for as a wife, she might tell her mother that she would like to marry a certain young man, that he was a man she could love and respect. The mother communicates this to the father of the girl, who invites the young man to the lodge, tells him of the offer, and expresses his feelings about it. If he is inclined to accept, the relations are summoned, and the matter talked over. A favorable answer being returned, a certain number of horses are sent over to the girl's father, If the people are very poor, the girl may have only a riding horse. Her relations get together, and do all in their power to give her a good fitting out, and the father, if he can possibly do so, is sure to pay them back what they have given. If he cannot do so, the things are still presented; for, in the case of a marriage, the relations on both sides are anxious to do all that they can to give the young people a good start in life. When all is ready, the girl goes to the lodge where her husband lives, and goes in. If this lodge is too crowded to receive the couple, the young man will make arrangements for space in the lodge of a brother, cousin, or uncle, where there is more room.

Sometimes, if two young people are fond of each other, and there is no prospect of their being married, they may take riding horses and a pack horse, and elope at night, going to some other camp for a while. This makes the girl's father angry, for he feels that he has been defrauded of his payments. The young man knows that his father-in-law bears him a grudge, and if he afterwards goes to war and is successful, returning with six or seven horses, he will send them all to the camp where his father-inlaw lives, to be tied in front of his lodge. This at once heals the breach, and the couple may return. Even if he has not been successful in war and brought horses, which of course he does not always accomplish, he from time to time sends the old man a present, the best he can. Notwithstanding these efforts at conciliation, the parents feel very bitterly against him. The girl has been stolen. The union is no marriage at all. The old people are ashamed and disgraced for their daughter. Until the father has been pacified by satisfactory payments, there is no marriage. Moreover, unless the young man had made a payment, or at least had endeavored to do so, he would be little thought of among his fellows, and looked down on as a poor creature without any sense of honor.

The Blackfeet take as many wives as they wish; but these ceremonies are only carried out in case of the first wife, the "sits-beside-him" woman.



#### HOW AN INDIAN WOMAN LEAVES HER HUSBAND

A woman desiring to leave her husband will secure the service of some cautious old woman of the tribe to find a warrior who will take and pay for her. The transaction must be carried on in absolute secrecy, for the husband has a perfect right to kill his wife, and if he dearly loves her and suspects what is going on, she is in great danger of being slain before she gets away. Once gone she is perfectly safe provided the payment is made. If not she may be ordered back by the head chief, and then death is almost sure to be her fate.



#### SUPERSTITIONS

No one can go between the fire in the center of the tepee and the medicine bundle, which usually hangs on the west side, except the owner of the bundle or bad luck will fall upon the owner of the bundle when he depends upon the powers of the bundle.

If a coyote barks at you, you will have bad luck if you continue your present course.

When an owl hoots one night, hoots closer the next, and lands on your house or tepee the third time it is a sign that someone in your family will die within a year.

#### BUFFALO STONE

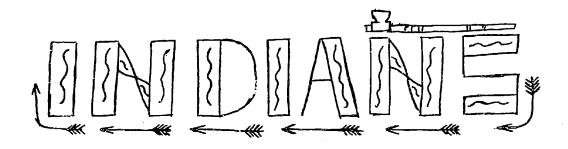
The Buffalo Stone was a joint of a fossil plant which was held sacred by the Indians. Its use was to charm the buffalo into coming near. Some years ago Mr. Richard Sanderville of Browning, Montana, found what was left of a camp on this lake (Buffalo Lake). The tipi circle was there and the tipis had faced the east. To the south of the door of one of the tipis was a large stone which represented the rising sun. At the back of the tipi directly opposite the door was the Buffalo Stone. On the north side, traced in rocks, was a figure of a man lying down. Directly in the center was the fireplace, set in semi-circle were the legs of eight buffalo cows. And in back of them, the bones of the four legs of seven buffalo bulls. This camp was there many many years ago. The Buffalo Stone found there was last in possession of Mr. Sanderville, who intended to give it to the Museum of the Plains Indian in Browning.



### CHAPTER III - RELIGION

Religion and Ceremonials
Sun Dance
Medicine Bundle
Beaver Medicine
Medicine Pipe
Painted Tepee
Medicine Shield
Indian Burial
Over the Hill
Crow Chief, Last Medicine Man





"American Indian religions varied from the most primitive shamanism---little more than the exercise of magic, usually beneficial, by self-elected practitioners, to organized, priestly systems based on high philosophies. Whatever the type, one thing is constant; religion permeated daily life. There was no such thing as setting aside a portion of every seventh day for relations with God or the gods."

#### Oliver La Farge

The religious concepts of the American Indian are dependent, to a considerable extent, on a knowledge of the laws of nature; and since the border-line of the natural and supernatural, as conceived in the mind of primitive man, does not coincide with the modern view of this subject, there are marked differences between the scope of religion among civilized nations and that among less advanced peoples. These concepts may be described in two groups---those that concern the individual and those that concern the social group, such as tribe and clan. A belief in a magic power, that exists in objects, animals, spirits or dieties and is superior to the natural qualities of man, is the one fundamental occurring among all tribes. Religion has usually been closely associated with the social structure of the tribes, and, consequently, the ritualistic aspects of it can be understood only in connection with the social or political organization of the tribe.

On the whole, the Indians have been inclined strongly toward all forms of religious excitement. This is demonstrated not only by the exuberant use or development of ancient religious forms, but also by the frequency with which prophets have appeared among them, who taught new doctrines and new rites, based either on older religious beliefs, or on teachings partly of Christian, partly of Indian origin. Perhaps the best known of these forms of religion is the Ghost-Dance which swept over a large part of the continent during the last decade of the 19th century. But other prophets of similar type and of far-reaching influence have been numerous.



#### RELIGION AND CEREMONIALS

In ancient times the chief god of the Blackfeet---their Creator---was Napi (Old Man). This is the word used to indicate any old man, though its meaning is often loosely given as white. An analysis of the word Napi, however, shows it to be compounded of the word "Ninah," man, and the particle "api," which expresses a color, and which is never used by itself, but always in combination with some other word. The Blackfoot word for white is "Ksiksinum," while "api," though also conveying the idea of whiteness, really describes the tint seen in the early morning light when it first appears in the east---the dawn---not a pure white, but that color combined with a faint cast of yellow. Napi, therefore, would seem to mean dawn-light-color-man, or man-yellowish-white.

The character of Old Man, as depicted in the stories told of him by the Blackfeet, is a curious mixture of opposite attributes. In the serious tales, such as those of the creation, he is spoken of respectfully, and there is no hint of the impish qualities which characterize him in other stories, in which he is powerful, but also at times impotent; full of all wisdom, yet at times so helpless that he has to ask aid from the animals. Sometimes he sympathizes with the people, and at others, out of pure spitefulness, he plays them malicious tricks that are worthy of a demon. He is a combination of strength, weakness, wisdom, folly, child-ishness, and malice.

It is generally believed that Old Man is no longer the principal god of the Blackfeet, that the Sun has taken his place. There is some reason to suspect, however, that the Sun and Old Man are one, that "Natos" is only another name for Napi, for it has been said that "Sun is the person whom we call Old Man."



The Sun is a man, the supreme chief of the world. The flat, circular earth in fact is his home, the floor of his lodge, and the over-arching sky is its covering. The moon, "Ko-ko-mik-e-is," night light, is the Sun's wife. The pair have had a number of children, all but one of whom were killed by pelicans. The survivor is the morning star, "a-pi-su-ahts," early riser.

In attributes the Sun is very unlike Old Man. He is a beneficent person, of great wisdom and kindness, good to those who do right. As a special means of obtaining his favor, sacrifices must be made. These are often presents of clothing, fine robes, or furs, and in extreme cases, when the prayer is for life itself, the offering of a finger, or—still dearer—a lock of hair. If a white buffalo was killed the robe was always given to the Sun. It belonged to him. Of the buffalo, the tongue—regarded as the greatest delicacy of the whole animal—was especially sacred to the Sun. The sufferings undergone by men in the Medicine Lodge each year were sacrifices to the Sun. This torture was an actual penance, like the sitting for years on top of a pillar, the wearing of a hair shirt, or fasting in Lent. It was under gone for no other purpose than that of pleasing God—as a propitiation or in fulfillment of vows made to him.

Besides the Sun and Old Man, the Blackfoot religious system includes a number of minor deities or rather natural qualities and forces, which are personified and given shape. These are included in the general terms Above Persons, Ground Persons, and Under Water Persons. Of the former class, Thunder is one of the most important, and is worshipped as is elsewhere shown. He brings the rain. He is represented sometimes as a bird, or, more vaguely, as in one of the stories, merely as a fearful person. Wind Maker is an example of an Under Water Person, and it is related that he has been seen, and his form is described. It is believed by some that he lives under the water at the head of the Upper St. Mary's Lake. Those who believe this say that when he wants the wind to blow, he makes the waves roll, and that these cause the wind to blow---another example of mistaking the effect for cause---so common among the Indians. The Ground Man is another below person. He lives under the ground, and perhaps typifies the power of the earth, which is highly respected by all Indians of the West. The cold and snow are brought by Cold Maker, "Ai-so-yim-stan." He is a man, white in color, with white hair, and clad in white apparel, who rides on a white horse. He brings the storm with him. They pray to him to bring, or not to bring, the storm.

Many of the animals are regarded as typifying some forms of wisdom or craft. They are not gods, yet they have power, which, perhaps, is given them by the Sun or by Old Man.



Among the animals especially respected and supposed to have great power, are the buffalo, the bear, the raven, the wolf, the beaver, and the kit fox. The raven has the power of giving people farsight. If a person is hungry and sings a wolf song, he is likely to find food. The bear has very powerful medicine. Sometimes he takes pity on people and helps them.

The Blackfeet made daily prayers to the Sun and to Old Man, and nothing of importance was undertaken without asking for devine assistance. They are firm believers in dreams. These, they say, are sent by the Sun to enable us to look ahead, to tell what is going to happen. A dream, especially if it is a strong one, that is, if the dream is very clear and vivid, is almost always obeyed. Dreams start them on the war path, so, if a dream threatening bad luck comes to a member of a war party, even if in the enemy's country and just about to make an attack on a camp, the party is likely to turn about and go home without making any hostile demonstrations. The animal or object which appears is regarded thereafter as his secret helper——his medicine (Nits—o-kan).

#### THE SUN DANCE

The Sun Dance ranks as the most conspicuous religious festival of about twenty Plains tribes. It was not performed by the Pawnee, Wichita, Omaha, and several other Southern Siouans, but elements of it appeared among some Plains tribes including the Blackfeet. Because of the self-torturing associated with most of its forms, the Department of the Interior prohibited its performance in 1904, the ban being removed in 1935, so that sundry tribes have held the Dance since then, though modern conditions have introduced alterations. The festival was most highly elaborated among the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Dakota, most meager and recent among the western marginal tribes. The Commanche, after being mere spectators of the performance by their Kiowa neighbors, worked out a simplified copy of it in 1874. The Ute adopted the dance about 1890 and subsequently made it their principal ceremony.

What holds true of the Crow Tobacco ceremonial holds equally for the Sun Dance: It does not revolve about the worship of a particular deity, the popular English name for it being a misnomer, but is a composite of largely unintergrated elements prominent in the area at large. The remarkable thing about it is the wide distribution of many objective features, while the interpreformance was annual, it hinged on some distressed tribesman's vowing to have it held if he were relieved of his worries. Among the Crow the only motive was an inconsolable mourner seeking revenge upon the tribe that had killed a close relative of his, so years might elapse between successive ceremonies. A priest acquainted with the ritual conducted the dance, first instructing the pledger in a preparatory tipi, while a large number of tribesmen not concerned with esoteric aspects brought in the requisites for the great ceremonial structure. Most groups stressed the solemnities associated with the central or the first pole to be set up for the lodge. They scouted for a suitable tree, had a specially qualified person---say a chaste woman---chop it, and treat the fallen tree as an enemy on whom coup was to be counted. Before reising this pole, the builders put a bundle of brush, a buffalo hide, and offerings into the fork of the log. Commonly this bundle was explained as an eagle's or thunderbird's nest. The exceptional structure of the Crow was merely a huge tipi in shape; typical was a circular enclosure from whose crossbeam rafters extended to the fork of the central pole. Within the enclosure a cleared area with buffalo skull figures as the altar. Before the main celebrants entered, warriors came in to dramatize military exploits (Crow, Kiowa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Oglala, Hidatsa).



Generally the pledger and his associates, such as the members of his club among the Cheyenne, fasted and thirsted for several Jays, steadily gazing at the top of the central pole as they danced and prayed for power. The C- r pledger had to stare at a sacred doll provided by his priestly mentor until it grante him a vision of a scalped enemy. Not absolutely general was the torture feature: Certain participants had their breast or back punctured so that skewers could be inserted, ropes were attached at one end to the center pole, at the other to the skewers and the dancers strained against the ropes until they had torn themselves loose. The dance was extremely simple, the performers merely rising on their toes while blowing whistles. As for the torture feature, it was completely lacking among the Kiowa, Ute, and Shoshone only among the Dakota and Ponca did the main celebrant practice such self-mortification, while elsewhere it was voluntary, though usual, for other dancers.

So many of the objective traits were alike throughout most of the area that they must have diffused from a single source. Yet the alleged aims of the ceremony vary widely. We must infer that the ceremonial behavior in the festival was older and that the assumed objectives were subsequent additions. It is also clear that the dance was only in part a religious ceremony and in large measure served for the aesthetic pleasure and entertainment of the spectators.

#### MEDICINE BUNDLE

The Blackfoot Indians lived in a world of uncertainty. Their lives were plagued by the fear of death from starvation, from sickness or at the hands of their many human enemies. If they had less cause to fear starvation in the middle of the nineteenth century than had their prehistoric ancestors, they had more reason to fear sickness. Their old men and women could recall the disastrous losses their tribes had suffered in two smallpox epidemics. They were still surrounded by hostile tribes, any of which might send a mobile raiding party against one of their isolated hunting camps without warning.

Yet the Blackfeet did not face these dangers alone. They be lieved they were surrounded by supernatural powers much stronger than human ones which they could call upon for protection from evil influences and to aid them in their own undertakings. These powers resided in the skies and in the waters, as well as on land. Sun and thunder were the most powerful sky spirits. Beaver and otter were potent underwater ones. Buffalo, bear, elk, horses, snakes, eagles, crows, and other animals and birds of the Blackfoot country also could communicate their powers to humans.

Supernatural power invariably was given to men in dreams. Rarely did a man experience a dream of power while he was sleeping at home in the lodge of his family. Dreams of power did come to some young men where they were alone and separated from fellow members of a war party. But more commonly a young man actively sought supernatural aid by going out alone on foot to some bare hilltop, beside a lake, or in some other rarely frequented place. The young man fasted and called upon all the powers of sky, earth, and water to have pity upon him. There he remained without food or water until he was exhausted and fell asleep. Then, in response to his supplications, an animal, bird, or power of nature (such as thunder) appeared to him. This spirit in human form spoke to him and expressed pity for him and then showed him certain objects sacred to it and told him how they should be made and cared for, and how they should be manipulated to bring the man success and to protect him from harm. The spirit also gave him the songs, face paint designs, taboos, and the ritual associated with the use of its particular "medicine."

Soon after the young man returned home, he made the articles given him in his dream in accordance with the instructions he received from the spirit. They comprised the contents of his personal medicine bundle. It should be made clear that the Blackfeet regarded these sacred objects as important symbols of power. They were not the power itself. If a medicine bundle was lost or captured by the enemy, the



power was not permanently lost. He who was possessed of the power could remake the bundle. Unless he relinquished this power to another through formal transfer, he retained it until his death.

Many articles associated with successful achievements in war came to be regarded as medicine bundles. Among them were head-dresses, shirts, shields, knives, and lances. These more important war medicines were usually the property of the well-to-do members of the tribe.

The most common of the more important classes of medicine bundles were the painted lodges. There were more than fifty of them among the three Blackfoot tribes. The handsomely painted lodge cover was not a sacred entity in itself. Rather it was part of a complex of sacred objects received by its original owner in his dream of power.

#### THE BEAVER MEDICINE

This story goes back many years, to a time before the Indians went to war against each other. They were at peace among all tribes. They met, and did not kill each other. They had no guns and they had no horse. When two tribes met, the head chiefs would take each a stick and touch each other. Each had counted a coup on the other, and they then went back to their camps. It was more a friendly than a hostile ceremony.

Oftentimes, when a party of young men had gone to a strange camp, and had done this to those whom they had visited, they would come back to their homes and would tell the girls whom they loved that they had counted a coup on this certain tribe of people. After the return of such a party, the young women would have a dance. Each one would wear clothing like that of the man she loved, and as she danced, she would count a coup, saying that she herself had done the deed which her young lover had really done. Such was the custom of the people.

There was a chief in a camp who had three wives, all very pretty women. He used to say to these women, whenever a dance was called: "Why do not you go out and dance too? Perhaps you have some one in the camp that you love, and for whom you would like to count a coup." Then the women would say, "No, we do not wish to join the dance; we have no lovers."

There was in the camp a poor young man, whose name was Api-Kunni. He had no relations, and no one to tan robes or furs for him, and he was always badly clad and in rags. Whenever he got some clothing, he wore it as long as it would hold together. This young man loved the youngest wife of the chief, and she loved him. But her parents were not rich, and they could not give her to Api-Kunni, and when the chief wanted her to be his wife, they gave her to him. Sometimes Api-Kunni, and his girl used to meet and talk together, and he used to caution her, saying, "Now be careful that you do not tell anyone that you see me." She would say, "No, there is no danger; I will not let it be known."

One evening, a dance was called for the young women and the chief said to his wives: "Now, women, you had better go to this dance. If any of you have persons that you love, you might as well go and dance for them." Two of them said: "No, we will not go. There is no one that we love." But the third said, "Well, I think I will go and dance." The chief said to her, "Well go then; your lover will surely dress you up for the dance."



The girl went to where Api-Kunni was living in an old woman's lodge, very poorly furnished, and told him what she was going to do, and asked him to dress her for the dance. He said to her: "Oh, you have wronged me by coming here and going to the dance. I told you to keep it a secret." The girl said: "Well never mind; no one will know your dress. Fix me up, and I will go and join the dance anyway." "Why," said Api-Kunni. "I never have been to war. I have never counted any coups. You will go and dance and have nothing to say. The people will laugh at you." But when he found that the girl wanted to go, he painted her forehead with red clay, and tied a goose skin, which he had, about her head, and lent her his badly tanned robe, which in spots was hard like a parfleche. He said to her, "If you will go to the dance, say, when it comes your turn to speak, that when the water in the creeks gets warm, you are going to war, and are going to count a coup on some people."

The woman went to the dance and joined in it. All the people laughing at her because of her strange dress——a goose skin around her head, and a badly tanned robe around her. The people in the dance asked her: "Well, what are you dancing for? What can you tell?" The woman said, "I am dancing here today and when the water in the streams gets warm next spring, I am going to war; and then I will tell you what I have done to any people." The chief was standing present, and when he learned who it was that his young wife loved, he was much ashamed and went to his lodge.

When the dance was over, this young woman went to the lodge of the poor young man to give him back his dress. Now, while she had been gone, Api-Kunni had been thinking over all these things, and he was very much ashamed. He went away at once, travelling off over the prairie, not caring where he went, and crying all the way. As he wandered away, he came to a lake, and at the foot of this lake was a beaver dam, and by the dam a beaver house. He walked down, and in his shame cried the rest of the day, and at last he fell asleep on the beaver house.

While he slept, he dreamed that a beaver came to him--a very large beaver--and said; "My poor young man, come into my house. I pity you, and will help you." So Api-Kunni got up, and followed the beaver into his house. When he was in the house, he woke, and saw sitting opposite him a large white beaver, almost as big as a man. He thought to himself, "This must be the chief of all the beavers, white because very old." The beaver was singing a song, it was a very strange song, and he sang it a long time. Then he said to Api-Kunni. "My son, why are you mourning?" and the young man told him everything that had happened, and how he had been shamed. Then the beaver said; "My son, stay here this winter with me. I will provide for you. When the time comes, and you have learned our songs and our ways, I will let you go. For a time



make this your home." So Api-Kunni stayed there with the beaver, and the beaver taught him many strange things. All this happened in the fall.

Now the chief in the camp missed this poor young man, and he asked the people where he had gone. No one knew. They said that the last that had been seen of him he was travelling toward the lake where the beaver dam was.

Api-Kunni had a friend, another poor young man named Wolf Tail, and after a while, Wolf Tail started out to look for his friend. He went toward this lake, looking everywhere, and calling out his name. When he came to the beaver house, he kicked on the top and called, "Oh, my brother, are you in there?"
Api-Kunni answered him, and said "Yes, I am here. I was brought here while I was asleep, and I cannot give you the secret of the door, for I do not know it myself." Wolf Tail said to him, "Brother, when the weather gets warm a party is going to start from camp to war." Api-Kunni said: "Go home and try and get together all the moccasins you can, but do not tell them that I am here. I am ashamed to go back to the comp. When the party starts, come this way and bring me the moccasins, and we two will start from here." He also said, "I am very thin. The beaver food here does not agree with me. We are living on the bark of willows." Wolf Tail went back to the camp and gathered together all the moccasins that he could, as he had been asked to do.

When the spring came, and the grass began to start, the war party set out. At this time the beaver talked to Api-Kunni a long time, and told him many things. He dived down into the water, and brought up a long stick of aspen wood, cut off from it a piece as long as a man's arm, trimmed the twigs, and gave it to the young man. "Keep this," the beaver said "and go to war and take it with you." The beaver also gave him a little sack of medicine and told him what he must do.

When the party started out, Wolf Tail came to the beaver house. They started in the direction the party had taken and travelled with them, but off to one side. When they stopped at night, the two young men camped by themselves.

They travelled for many days, until they came to Bow River, and found that it was very high. On the other side of the river, they saw the lodges of a camp. In this camp a man was making a speech, and Api-Kunni said to his friend, "Oh, my brother, I am going to kill that man today, so that my sweet-heart may count coup on him." These two were at a little distance from the main party, above them on the river. The people in the camp had seen the Blackfeet,



and some had come down to the river. When Api-Kunni had said this to Wolf Tail, he took his clothes off and began to sing the song the beaver had taught him. This is the song:

"I am like an island, For on an island I got my power. In battle I live While people fall away from me."

While he sang this song he had in his hand the stick which the beaver had given him. This was his only weapon.

He ran to the bank, jumped in and dived, and came up in the middle of the river; and started to swim across. The rest of the Blackfeet saw one of their number swimming across the river, and they said to each other: "Who is that? Why did someone not stop him?" While he was swimming across, the man who had been making the speech saw him and went down to meet him. He said: this man be, swimming across the river? He is a stranger. I will go down and meet him, and kill him." As the boy was getting close to the shore, the man waded out in the stream up to his waist, and raised his knife to stab the swimmer. When Api-Kunni got near him, he dove under the water and came up close to ghe man, and thrust the beaver stick through his body, and dove under with it, and came up on the other side where he left his friend. Then all the Blackfeet set up the war whoop, for they were glad, and they could hear a great crying in the camp. The people there were sorry for the man who was killed.

They drug the man up on the bank, and Api-Kunni said to his brothers, "Gut off those long hairs on the head." The young man did as he was told. He scalped him and counted coup on him; and from that time forth, people, when they went to war, killed one another and scalped the dead enemy, as this poor young man had done. Two others of the main party came to the place and counted coup on the dead body, making four who had counted coup. From there, the whole party turned about and went back to the village from whence they had come.

When they came ir sight of the lodges, they sat down in a row facing the camp. The man who had killed the enemy was sitting far in front of the others. Behind him sat his friend, and behind Wolf Tail sat the two who had counted coup on the body. So these four were strung out in front of the others. The chief of the camp was told that some people were sitting on a hill near by, and when he had gone out and looked, he said: "There is someone sitting way in front. Let someone go out and see \_\_\_\_\_\_it." A young man ran out to where he could see, and when he had looked, he ran back and said to the chief, "Why, that man in front is the poor young man."



The old chief looked around, and said: "Where is that young woman, my wife? Go and find her." They went to look for her, and found her out gathering rosebuds, for while the young man whom she loved was away, she used to go out and gather rosebuds and dry them for him. When they found her, she had her bosom full of them. When she came to the lodge, the chief said to her: "There is the man you love, who has come. Go and meet him." She made ready quickly and ran out and met him. He said: "Give her that hair of the dead man. Here is his knife. There is the coat he had on, when I killed him. Take these things back to the camp and tell the people who made fun of you that this is what you promised them at the time of that dance."

The whole party then got up and walked to the camp. The woman took the scalp, knife and coat to the lodge, and gave them to her husband. The chief invited Api-Kunni to come to his lodge to visit him. He said: "I see that you have been to war, and that you have done more than any of us have done. This is a reason why you should be a chief. Now take my lodge and this woman, and live here. Take my place and rule these people. My two wives will be your servants." When Api-Kunni heard this, and saw the young woman sitting there in the lodge, he could not speak. Something seemed to rise up in his throat and choke him.

So this young man lived in the camp and was known as their chief.

After a time, he called his people together in council and told them of the strange things the beaver had taught him, and the power that the beaver had given him. He said: "This will be a benefit to us while we are a people now, and afterward it will be handed down to our children, and if we follow the beaver we will be lucky. This seed, the beaver gave me, and told me to plant it every year. When we ask help from the beaver, we will smoke this plant."

This plant was the Indian tobacco, and it is from the beaver that the Blackfeet got it. Many strange things were taught this man by the beaver, which were handed down and are followed till today.



#### ORIGIN OF THE MEDICINE PIPE

Thunder---you have heard him, he is everywhere. He roars in the mountains, he shouts far out on the prairie. He strikes the high rocks, and they fall to pieces. He hits a tree, and it is broken in slivers. He strikes the people, and they die. He is bad. He does not like the towering cliff, the standing tree, or living man. He likes to strike and crush them to the ground. Yes! Yes! Of all he is most powerful; he is the one most strong. But I have not told you the worst: he sometimes steals women.

Long ago, almost in the beginning, a man and his wife were sitting in their lodge, when Thunder came and struck them. The man was not killed. At first he was as if dead, but after a while he lived again, and rising looked about him. His wife was not there. "Oh, well," he thought, "she has gone to get some water or wood," and he sat a while; but when the sun had under-disappeared, he went out and inquired about her of the people. No one had seen her. He searched throughout the camp, but did not find her. Then he knew that Thunder had stolen her, and he went out on the hills alone and mourned.

When morning came, he rose and wandered far away, and he asked all the animals he met if they knew where Thunder lived. They laughed, and would not answer. The Wolf said: "Do you think we would seek the home of the only one we fear? He is our only danger. From all others we can run away; but from him there is no running. He strikes, and there we lie. Turn back! Go home! Do not look for the dwelling-place of that dreadful one." But the man kept on, and travelled far away. Now he came to a lodge, ---a queer lodge, for it was made of stone; just like any o ther lodge, only it was made of stone. Here lived the Raven chief. The man entered.

"Welcome, my friend," said the chief of Ravens. "Sit down, sit down," and food was placed before him.

Then, when he had finished eating, the Raven said, "Why have you come?"

"Thunder has stolen my wife," replied the man. "I seek his dwelling-place that I may find her."

"Would you dare enter the lodge of that dreadful person?" asked the Raven. "He lives close by here. His lodge is of stone.



like this; and hanging there, within, are eyes,---the eyes of those he has killed or stolen. He has taken out their eyes and hung them in his lodge. Now, then, dare you enter there?"

"No," replied the man. "I am afraid. What man could look at such dreadful things and live?"

"No person can," said the Raven. "There is but one old Thunder fears. There is but one he cannot kill. It is I, it is the Ravens. Now I will give you medicine, and he shall not harm you. You shall enter there, and seek among those eyes your wife's; and if you find them, tell that Thunder why you came, and make him give them to you. Here, now, is a raven's wing. Just point it at him, and he will start back quick; but if that fail, take this. It is an arrow, and the shaft is made of elk-horn. Take this, I say, and shoot it through the lodge."

"Why make a fool of me?" the poor man asked. "My heart is sad. I am crying." And he covered his head with his robe, and wept.

"Oh," said the Raven, "You do not believe me. Come out, come out, and I will make you believe." When they stood outside, the Raven asked, "Is the home of your people far?"

"A great distance," said the man.

"Can you tell how many days you have travel!ed?"

"No," he replied, "my heart is sad. I did not count the days. The berries have grown and ripened since I left."

"Can you see your camp from here?" asked the Raven.

The man did not speak. Then the Raven rubbed some medicine on his eyes and said, "Look!" The man looked, and saw the camp. It was close. He saw the people. He saw the smoke rising from the lodges.

"Now you will believe," said the Raven. "Take now the arrow and the wing, and go and get your wife."

So the man took these things, and went to the Thunder's lodge. He entered and sat down by the door-way. The Thunder sat within and looked at him with awful eyes. But the man looked above, and saw those many pairs of eyes. Among them were those of his wife.



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"Why have you come?" said the Thunder in a fearful voice.

"I seek my wife," the man replied, "whom you have stolen. There hang her eyes."

"No man can enter my lodge and live," said the Thunder; and he rose to strike him. Then the man pointed the raven wing at the Thunder, and he fell back on his couch and shivered. But he soon recovered, and rose again. Then the man fitted the elk-horn arrow to his bow, and shot it through the lodge rock; right through that lodge of rock it pierced a jagged hole, and let the sunlight in.

"Hold," said Thunder. "Stop; you are the stronger. Yours the great medicine. You shall have your wife. Take down her eyes." Then the man cut the string that held them and immediately his wife stood beside him.

"Now," said the Thunder, "you know me. I am of great power. I live here in summer, but when winter comes, I go far south. I go south with the birds. Here is my pipe. It is medicine. Take it, and keep it. Now, when I first come in the spring, you shall fill and light this pipe, and you shall pray to me, you and the people. For I bring the rain which makes the berries large and ripe. I bring the rain which makes all things grow, and for this you shall pray to me, you and all the people."

Thus the people got the first medicine pipe. It was long ago.



#### PAINTED TEPEE

Among the Blackfeet people, as among most other Plains tribes, a number of painted tepees could be found in each village. Such painted lodges were believed to have magic powers, and instructions for the painting must come to a man in a dream.

One night Spotted Eagle, a Blackfeet warrior, dreamed that a man appeared and ordered Spotted Eagle to follow him. They walked out across the Prairie until they came to a large hole. The dream person walked into this hole, making signs for Spotted Eagle to follow him. Just as he started to enter he saw that the dream person had changed into a yellow buffalo bull.

They reached a big open place underground where several tepees, all painted with buffalo symbols, formed a large village. In one of these lodges the dream buffalo and his wife lived, and this they now entered. Spotted Eagle was offered a pipe as a gesture of welcome, and the woman gave him food. Then the yellow buffalo spoke. "The Indians and the buffalo are brothers," he said. "We know our brothers must make war upon our tribe from time to time that they may have food. But we are still brothers, for the Indian never takes more than he needs. Therefore, I have brought you here to give you my strong medicine to take back to your people. Upon your return you must make a tepee and paint it exactly like the one wherein you now sit."

Then the yellow buffalo went on to explain to Spotted Eagle how to paint the tepes designs, and he gave him certain songs pertaining to the ritual of the painting. He told Spotted Eagle to make a madicine bundle for the new lodge. "This medicine bundle," said the yellow buffalo, "must contain four buffalo hoofs, two buffalo horns, four rattles, and several large eagle feathers, together with the skin of a buffalo bird. These objects must all be wrapped together in a small buffalo calfskin, with the hair and tail left on. The entire bundle must be tied with strips of buffalo hide and a medicine pipe must be placed under these wrappings."

Spotted Eagle also received instructions to be followed in purifying the medicine bundle when it was opened and used for asking the buffalo's help. For this purification a sweet-grass smudge was produced on a small alter behind the fire in the tepes. The entire bundle, as well as each individual object in it, had to be passed through this smoke.

One more set of instructions was given Spotted Eagle by the yellow buffalo -- the taboos to be observed within the lodge. First



of all, the skull or the head of a buffalo must never be brought inside. No meat must be hung to dry in the lodge. The door cover should not be left open, and dogs must be kept outside.

After Spotted Eagle had listened to all these instructions and had learned all the medicine songs, the spirit buffalo brought him back above ground. As they walked together toward the village, the dream buffalo suddenly vanished.

Upon awakening, Spotted Eagle told his wife, Singing Moon, that as soon as he could hunt enough buffalo she must make a new lodge.

Spotted Eagle's medicine was good, for soon he had the required number of skins, and Singing Moon pegged them to the ground to be tanned. After she had scraped the hair off she rubbed into the hides an oily mixture made of buffalo brains, fat, and liver to make them soft.

Singing Moon then spread the skins out on the ground and trimmed them until the edges of one fitted evenly with those next to it. When all the skins had been cut and placed in their proper order, they formed a large half circle.

When all her preparations were completed, Singing Moon prepared a supply of food---dried meat, serviceberries, and a kettle of soup---and invited certain women to eat with her. If they accepted her invitation, they expressed their willingness to help with the work on the new tepee. By the end of the day the cover was done.

At the center of the half circle's straight edge an extra double piece of hide was sewn. On each side of this center piece two large flaps of skin were added. These flaps were commonly known as smoke flaps. When it came time to sew them in place, Singing Moon took care that this was done by a woman with a cheerful disposition. Otherwise the smoke flaps would not work properly, and the tepee would be filled with smoke.

After the completion of the cover, Singing Moon and her friends went to the mountain slopes. Here they cut, trimmed, and peeled a number of tall, straight lodgepole pines. These they dragged back to the village, where they were allowed to dry slowly in the sun.

When the poles were well seasoned, Singing Moon set them in place. First she tied four of them together for the framework. The point where she lashed these poles together was the same distance from the ground as the height of the new cover. Around this



framework Singing Moon then placed the other lodgepoles, spacing them an equal distance apart.

After rolling both sides of the tepee cover toward the center pole, Singing Moon lifted the pole and rested it in the forks of the tepee frame, making sure the lifting pole was directly opposite the door poles. The front edges of the cover overlapped, and along these edges were a number of evenly spaced holes. Through these, slender willow sticks, called breast pins, were laced to hold the cover together.

From within, Singing Moon moved the poles until the cover was smooth and tight. Then she covered the door opening with a small buffalo hide and finally pegged the bottom edges of the cover to the ground. Entering the lodge again, she built a fire, heaping it with sagebrush to produce a thick smoke. This thoroughly smoked the skins and prevented them from hardening and shrinking after they were exposed to rain and snow.

Finally Spotted Eagle took over. First he engaged one of the men in the village, who was known to be a skilled artist. To him Spotted Eagle explained in detail what symbols and figures he was to draw on the new lodge cover. These the artist drew in outline only, using black earth paint. His tools were several straight red willow sticks for making straight lines, and a porous bone paintbrush. The artist drew these outlines while the tepee was still standing, and he had to make the designs exactly as the dream person had ordered, or they would lose their protective powers.

Once the artist's work was completed, the cover was taken down and spread on the ground, and Spotted Eagle invited a group of men to assist him with the painting.

In applying paint to the large surfaces, they used a buffalo tail or a handful of long buffalo hair as a brush. For painting the smaller details and lines, they used porous bone pieces of various sizes. The earth and berry colors used as paints were rubbed into the cover with a good deal of pressure.

The top third of Spotted Eagle's lodge they painted black. They made the smoke flaps black also, with a design of round yellow spots arranged to represent the stars in the Big Dipper. After painting a broad black band, about four feet wide, around the bottom of the cover, they painted on this a row of evenly spaced round yellow spots. These spots represented puff balls, the



formations of dust so often seen on the prairie. This dust gathers in a small cloud and starts to roll with the wind, picking up more dust along the way, growing and growing like a snowball until it hits a rock or a tall weed and collapses.

The men filled the space between the top and bottom designs with paintings of two-yellow buffalo, one a male, and the other a female. The two bodies extended nearly halfway around the tepee, the heads facing the entrance.

As soon as possible after the painting was done, the new lodge was set up again, but before Spotted Eagle would let anyone enter it he set up a tripod to hold the new medicine bundle.

Other lodges in the Blackfeet village had dream symbols painted on them, and each had its own medicine bundle, rituals, and taboos.

Several other terees also had paintings on their outer walls. These pictures, however, were not medicine or dream symbols, but depicted the war records of the tribe, or of the group owning the lodge. The paintings showed only victories, since pictures or records of defeats were never made.

#### MEDICINE SHIELD

A large piece of buffalo hide taken from the neck of a freshly killed bull hung from the low branch of a tree. Along its outer edges were holes showing where it had been pegged to the ground. The center of the hide was slightly concave. On the ground beneath it were scattered a dozen or more hunting arrows.

White Dog, a Blackfeet Indian, faced the target and grunted his approval. Not one of the arrows he had shot at the hide had penetrated it. Each one had bounced off as if it had struck a solid rock.

His satisfaction with the toughness of the buffalo hide was understandable. It was being tested for use as a shield. If the arrows penetrated, or even stuck in the hide, it would not do, and much time and work would have been wasted.

Before reaching the testing stage, White Dog had made other preparations. After securing the needed portion of the hide, he had gone to a secluded little grove away from the village. Here, with the shoulder blade of a buffalo, he had dug a hole in the ground. This he covered with the hide, holding it to the earth with short pegs inserted almost all around the edge. One small section he left free.

Next he built a fire in which he heated many stones. As soon as they were red-hot, he rolled them under the free edge of the hide and into the hole beneath it. Over these hot stones he then poured water, and the steam this produced caused the hide to shrink. As it shrank it also became thicker. To allow for this shrinkage, White Dog had to change the position of the pegs from time to time.

During the steaming process, White Dog took the earth excavated from the hole and made a smooth, even mound with it. When the hide had finally shrunk to half its original size and had thickened to nearly twice its original thickness, White Dog scraped all the hair off with a sharp, flat stone. Then he picked up the soft hide, placed it over the mound of earth, and once more pegged it to the ground. Here he left it to dry and become firm again. As the skin dried it was shaped by the mound, so that gradually it took on the shape of a shallow bowl.

During all this work White Dog had sung several medicine songs required for making a shield, and now as he tested the hide,



hanging from the tree he knew that his medicine had been good. Removing it from the branch, he placed it again on the ground and with a sharpened stick outlined on it a rough circle about sixteen inches in diameter. With a flint knife he carefully trimmed it along this line.

White Dog worked alone, for the making of a new shield was a serious undertaking to be conducted in secret. When the hide was trimmed, White Dog covered it with his robe and took it back to his own tepee.

To make sure that he would not be disturbed, he closed the door coverings. Then he reached out through the opening and placed two crossed sticks against the door covering. These indicated to all outsiders that White Dog did not wish to be disturbed. The medicine symbols he was about to paint on the face of the shield were even more important as protection than the shield itself and must be kept entirely secret while he painted them.

As in all such matters, White Dog had been given his instructions for the design in a dream. In this dream he had also been given the medicine songs connected with the ritual of making and painting the shields.

Using earth pigments and crushed, dried berries mixed with water for paint, White Dog began his work. Following his dream instructions carefully, he first painted a broad stripe across the center of the shield. This stripe was divided equally into squares of black and white, representing night and day. This said in symbols that he would have protection at all times. The background on the top half of the shield he painted red---for war, life and the sun. On this red background he painted a black bear, the animal that had appeared to him in his dream.

The lower half of the shield he painted green, the color of Mother Earth for the Indians lived close to her. Then he hung three dark-tipped eagle feathers, representing strength and power, from the lower rim of the shield spacing them an equal distance apart.

Finally he tied a small cluster of loon feathers to one side of the shield against the green background. The loon was believed to possess great power. White Dog hung this cluster in such a way that it could be removed, for he had been told in his dream that when he went on the war trail this cluster must be worn in his scalp lock for even greater protection.



The number four, representing the four corners of the earth, is sacred in most Indian rituals. So as he sang the final medicine song, White Dog passed the shield four times through the purifying smoke of burning sweet grass.

After adding the final detail, a broad buckskin shoulder band for carrying the shield, White Dog took it outdoors and hung it on a specially prepared tripod.

Each day thereafter when the weather was good, the shield was hung from its stand. Bringing it out at sunrise, White Dog placed it so that the morning sun shone full upon it. As the sun moved away from the tepee entrance, which was on the east side of the lodge, he moved the shield around the tepee. Thus the sun bestowed its blessing on the shield all day long adding power to it. When the sun was about to set in the west, White Dog carried the shield around by the north side of the lodge and brought it inside. In this way it made a complete and protecting circle around White Dog's tepee every day. At night and in bad weather the medicine shield hung from a tepee pole above White Dog's bed.

Only a brave man would carry a shield like this into battle. Its bright designs and fluttering feathers made its bearer a special target. To count coup on him and to capture his medicine shield was considered a great deed.

#### INDIAN BURIAL

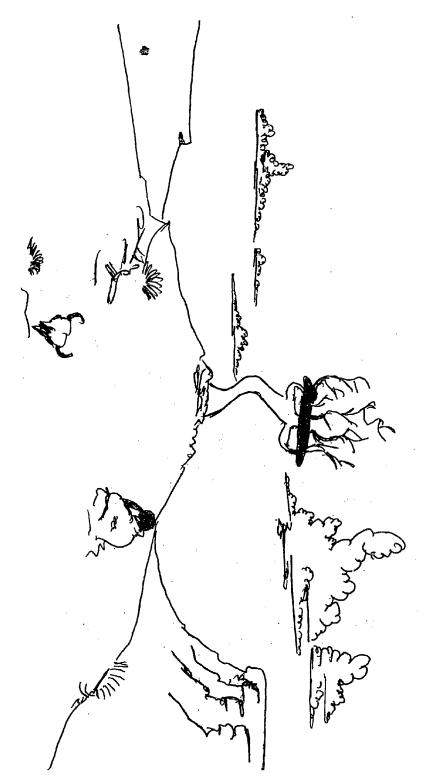
The fact that the Indian buried their dead proves that they are not savages. An Indian would risk his life to bring his brother's body back from a battle field for decent burial.

Indians buried their dead in high places, such as trees and platforms so they would reach the Gods quicker. Some tribes would elevate the body for a time and then would scrape off the flesh and bury the bones. Other groups believed the body needed food and would bury food with them.

Some tribes buried their dead with all their possessions including their wives who were killed on these occasions.

Much has been learned from early Indian burials. The Indian often killed white men who entered their burial grounds.







#### OVER THE HILL

In the old days the Plains Indians did not have a very clearly defined idea of life after death. The story most commonly accepted on this subject goes like this:

When people die they must go over a hill. There is a dividing line between the world in which we live and the one of those who have gone before us. That line is the crest of the hill. In the old days when all the country was open and the prairies rolled away as far as anyone could see there was just the line of rocks on the crest of the hill to divide. Nowadays, when all the country is fenced, there is a line of barbed wire there to mark the boundary.

When someone is very sick he may start climbing the hill. It is hard work going up, especially if his loved ones are here and calling him back. But if he is very sick and is suffering a great deal, he will go on, toiling to reach the top of the hill, in spite of those who are calling to bring him back.

If he reaches the top of the hill, he can turn and look across to the other side. The downhill slope is easy and the grass grows thickly all the way to the bottom. At the bottom is a river and across the river is a big Indian camp. The children are playing, splashing and swimming in the river and riding horseback. As soon as they see the sick person they call to him, begging him to come join them, "Come down, brother-sister-uncle-father," or whatever his status in the family is. But if the people on the side of the living love him enough and their medicine is strong enough to hold him he will stay with them. He will know all the people in the amp he river and will love them all, but the living can hold him they beg hard enough.

This can happen more than once in a man's life. It can happen to women too and no matter who the person is or how his past was spent, all suffer the same fate in the afterworld.

There is no difference in the afterlife for the good or for the bad. All share the same world after death and it is to be a good world for it is the Indian way not to judge people.



#### "CROW CHIEF" LAST MEDICINE MAN OF BLACKFEET TRIBE DIES SUDDENLY

Charles "Crow Chief" Reevis, 87, venerated Blackfeet tribes-man, friend of governors, legislators and hosts of prominent Americans in all walks of life and probably one of the most photographed men during his lifetime, died last Thursday evening about 7:30 p.m. while sitting in a chair in his room at Yeagen Hotel.

In ill helath during the past few years, Crow Chief was making plans to move into town from his ranch on Two Medicine river east of Browning where he had ranched most of his life. News of his death, apparently from a heart attack, traveled fast and brought immediate sadness throughout the reservation community.

A past member of the ruling Blackfeet tribal council, he was at the time of his death an honorary councilman, a position reserved for the respected and elderly whose function it is to advise and counsel that ruling body. He was chairman of Browning's primcipal annual attraction, the Indian Days celebration, designed pass on to succeeding generations traditional tribal songs, dames, costumes, games, stories, and legends.

He was the tribe's only recognized medicine man and reputedly was the only remaining man among his tribesmen who knew thoroughly the ancient and secret ceremony, including that of the Sun Lodge which he conducted in 1959. Because of this rare knowledge he was recognized by the Canadian Blood tribe and served that tribe also in his revered capacity as Medicine Man. He often expressed his desire to hold one more Sun Dance, should the occasion demand, in order to pass on to some other worthy tribesman the sacred ritual.

Crow Chief's exemplary life, no doubt brought about by combining the better attributes of the ways of the Indians and the white man, won him the respect of Indian and non-Indian alike. Innumerable during the course of his long life are the trips to the nation accepted in behalf of the welfare of his tribesmen.

He is one of the last Blackfeet to know the rituals and common of the old-time Blackfeet. Hardly more than half a dozen men, not counting women, among about 10,000 Blackfeet on the tribal rolls retain his knowledge at this state of tribal history.



## CHAPTER IV - INDIAN WAR STORIES

War and Strategy
Three Suns' War Record
Counting Coup
A' Duel Between a Kootenay and a Blackfoot
He Sang the Victory Song
Female War Chief of the Blackfeet



# Counting coup





# WAR AND STRATEGY AMONG THE INDIANS

Prior to the arrival of the white man, the Indian was not warlike. Implements found in ancient Indian village sites are those of a peaceful pursuit. The Indian had a well defined boundary as to their rights to live and hunt, and there was little need for trespassing. Only occasionally did another tribe infringe upon its neighbor, then this sudden invasion was reason to fight. With the arrival of the settlers, much of the land was taken from the Indians and they found their homeland no longer theirs. Territory for a new place to live had to be taken or stolen from other tribes, and this lad to bloodshed and war.

Each tribe had its own customs of war, but there were two recognized types of warfare before the coming of the white man. One was the defensive, or fighting for protection of women and children, the home and the village. The other type was aggressive warfare or going on an expedition to avenge injuries, or to take spoils. The arrival of the white man brought new kinds, and reasons for warfare. One was the wholesale destruction of game animals. The Indian never killed more animals then they could use for food, clothing or shelter. The killing of game became a sport with the white man and the very existence of the Indian was in danger. The other type of warfare, not often mentioned by historians, was the discord over religion. There were thousands of incidents of intolerance. The missionaries and colonists felt the Indians to be savage and that it was necessary to take away all of their old beliefs and make them believe as the white man. Red Jacket, the Seneca chief, said the the religion of the Indian was to love each other, to help each other, and not to quarrel about religion. Many times the Indians would not give up their old beliefs, which they felt were not so different from those taught by the white man. Indian prophets, however, did preach among the Indians inciting their people to drive the white man and his Gods away from the land. Many prophets were the direct cause of war. Pope, a prophet of the Pueblo, urged revolt in 1680. Pontiac was inflamed by a Delaware prophet to go to war in 1762. The Shawnee Prophet, Tenskwatawa, hastened the battle of Tippicanoe by urging his brother Tecumseh to fight. Kanakui, a Kickapoo Prophet, was the agitator of his people resulting in their losses in 1827. Wovoko, or Jack Wilson the Paiute prophet, was the originator of the Ghost Dance which brought about a Sioux outbreak and the battle of Wounded Knee.

In battle, grades and ranks, each having its own insignia, were held among the warriors. All ranks had to be won by personal



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achievement. Before a man could count his war honors, and wear the appropriate insignia or assume the grade or rank to which the honor entitled him, he had to be given the right publicly and this was usually with great religious ceremony. War honors were the token of a man's courage and ability.

All tribes had strict military rules. Their fighting was not the wild assault of a mob. It was the duty of a warrior to kill or capture the enemy. Often it was considered more brave to simply touch the enemy than to kill him; this was called counting coup. While many tribes kept the men together in battle others let each man fight independently. Friend stood close to friend and often the greatest battles took place over the body of a fallen comrade. The friend determined not to let the enemy touch the body of his friend. Each man was free to take all the honors he could, but when it came to a division of the spoils the leader had the right to divide them, and no one could question his apportionment.

Young boys from an early age were taught bravery. They were told of the honors of the great warriors. Every boy wanted to be like them and it was the duty of all the warriors to teach the young boys the art of war. They were taught to send signals, to swim under water, to track an enemy, as well as skill in using weapons of war. The boys were so well trained in childhood it was not unusual that they could hold off a force against great odds, as a single warrior, or as one of a few.

Most war parties were made up or volunteers, and there could be anywhere from eight to a hundred men. Some tribes had a division of duties. The leader would choose who would do each thing; some were to hunt game, as the war party moved on; others were to carry the kettles and look after the utensils and cook the food; others had to carry the food the hunters caught and carry the water as well as fix the fire. Some were appointed to carry the extra moccasins and see that each man had a new pair when his wore out. The most honored of duties were those of the scout. These were the men who scouted ahead of the war party into enemy territory.

Women at times, went to war usually as helpers. A woman was never under orders. However, when the spoils were divided the women were given a share. Only in rare cases did the women fight side by side with the men on equal terms. Women usually fought at close range and with knives or any object at hand.

Treatment of captives varied in the tribes; some killed them outright, others would keep the captives for torture or for some religious ceremony. Many times women and children were adopted in-



to the tribe. It was not uncommon that a child would take the place in a home where a child had just died.

Scalping was not widely practiced among the Indians. Prior to the coming of the white man only a few tribes scalped their enemies. The spread of scalping according to record, spread over the central and western United States as a result of encouragement in the reward of scalp bounties offered by the Colonial and other governments. Many Indians took up scalping to support their white allies. The British, as well as the Americans offered bounties for Indian scalps. A child's scalp brought as high as \$50.00, its mother's would bring \$130.00, and a warrior as high as \$150.00. While the Plains tribes did not deal in scalp bounty, scalping became a new way to win honors. Thousands of scalping knives were given, sold or traded by the white traders and other government agencies to the Indians. The Indians were encouraged to take the scalp of their enemies, and this took on new symbolic significance. The belief sprang up that a man's life was mysteriously bound up in his scalp lock and it became the seat of destiny. Where the scalp lock was, there was the life. To take a scalp from the enemy therefore, put his soul in the hands of the warrior who took it.

Some tribes had one central item that was sacred to the war party are with this there were certain rites of ceremony. Almost every than had his own personal fettish or good luck piece. This was often in the form of a shield, which had protective symbols painted on it, or it would tell of brave deeds the warrior had done.

The tomahawk was so universally used by the Indian that it became almost a symbol of war. Bows and arrows, war clubs, spears, javelins were used for war, and at times slings.







# THREE SUNS' WAR RECORD (Told by Three Suns)

Events in the life of Ninokskatosi---("Three Suns," otherwise known as "Big Nose"), last war chief of the Pikuni Indians, were portrayed by him on an elk skin. This elk skin was given by Big Nose to Captain L. W. Cooke (later Brigadier General, U.S.A.), Third United States Infantry, while he was acting Indian agent for the Blackfoot, Blood, and Pikuni Indians in 1893-94. The following notes, interpretative of the various pictographs on the skin, were made by Captain Cooke from verbal descriptions given by Big Nose himself. At that time Big Nose was about seventy years old.

#### Scene I (1870):

Represents the capture of eight Pondera (Pend d'Oreille) Indians by the South Piegans, with whom they were at war. A large village of the Piegans were in camp in the Cypress Hills near old Fort Walsh, Northwest Territory. The Piegans succeeded in surrounding their foes and were about to kill them when Big Nose interceded in their behalf, thus saving their lives and permitting them to return to the Flathead country from whence they came. It seems that at some previous time Big Nose had received a large silver medal from the United States government in Washington; he was told at the time that he must not kill or permit his people to kill anyone and that he and his people must make peace with all tribes as well as with the whites, hence his efforts to save the lives of this party.

#### Scene 2 (1867):

Piegan camp near the Cypress Hills, Northwest Territory. Five Sioux Indians were discovered attempting to steal horses. Big Nose with a party of thirty Piegans attacked them, killing five of the party, with the loss of one Piegan. Big Nose killed the first one. One Sioux escaped. (Apparently there must have been at least six Sioux.)

#### Scene 3 (1860):

A fight with the Crows on the "swift stream" which empties into the Yellowstone just west of where Fort Keogh is situated. The Piegan, led by Big Nose, numbered forty-two, and the Crows, twelve. The Piegans charged and the Crows ran into the brush. Their leader, however, stood his ground. Big Nose threw down his gun and closed in on the Crow, grappling with him. Another Piegan shot the Crow in the stomach; the Crow then drew a knife, but before he could use it the man who had already wounded him cut his arm and caused him to drop the knife. Big Nose then stabbed the Crow to death. For this deed Big Nose was given the name of "Crow Chief."



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#### Scene 4 (1861):

Near White Sulphur Springs, Montana. A surprise by the Ponderas. The Indian shown falling was the brother of Big Nose. The Piegan party numbered eleven, and the Pondera, sixty. The former retreated to the brush. The brother recovered, and one Pondera was killed.

## Scene 5 (1855):

Sweetgrass Hills, the east butte. At this time the Piegans and the Ponderas were at peace, and sixty lodges of the Piegans and ten lodges of the Ponderas were camped together. Late at night, when soundly sleeping, Big Nose heard a gun fired and then another. They all sprang to arms and when they emerged from their lodges. they discovered that they were surrounded by about four hundred Sioux. So close had been the fire that the Piegan horses corralled inside the circle of lodges were nearly all killed. Those not killed made their escape, except for the sorrel pinto horse ridden by Big Nose. The Sioux by this time had possession of half of the Piegan lodges. Big Nose on his pinto, which was wounded in the neck and then exchanged for the yellow horse, held his people together in the other half of the village, fighting till morning. The yellow figure was a Sioux, wounded by a Pondera, and he ran off followed by Big Nose, who pursued and stabbed him to death. 'The Sioux then withdrew with a loss of sixteen killed; the Ponderas and the Piegans lost eleven.

#### Scene 6 (1855):

In the Cypress Hills, Northwest Territory. Two hundred lodges of Piegans were in camp. Two Sioux stole some of their horses. Big Nose and a few others gave chase. The horses of the Sioux gave out and they tried to escape on foot. Big Nose overtook the one shown in the scene, killing him with his knife.

#### Scene 7 (1860):

In the Judith Basin in Montana. Big Nose crawled up on a Pondera lodge under cover of night, taking the horse shown picketed there. In the meantime the owner opened fire, shooting Big Nose through the coat. There were thirteen Piegans in the party and sixty lodges of Ponderas. The Piegans were a hundred miles from their own people. The horse shown was the only one taken, owing to the early discovery of the raiders by the Ponderas.

#### Scene 8:

Medicine pipes captured in battle.



### Scene 9 (1855):

Near the Cypress Hills, Northwest Territory. Eight Sioux attempted to steal horses from the Piegans. There were about four hundred lodges of Bloods and Piegans in camp. The Sioux stole six horses, were pursued, overtaken, and all killed but one. Big Nose held the horse and exchanged shots with the Sioux leader. whom he killed.

#### Scene 10 (1859):

Prickly Pear Valley, near where Helena, Montana, now stands. Big Nose and party, twenty-one in number, left their camp where the old Blackfoot agency stood, on Badger Creek (fifteen miles from the new agency at Browning, on the Great Northern Railroad). Reaching the Prickly Pear, they found a camp of sixty lodges. Big Nose and another crawled up. Big Nose cut a fast horse loose from a lodge to which it was tied; his companion was killed in attempting a similar feat at another lodge. (It was the custom to secure their best horses——war ponies——by passing the lariat through the door of the lodge and fastening it to a lodgepole inside.) Six horses were obtained, and the raiders all escaped except the one noted above.

#### Scene 11 (1847):

West butte of the Sweetgrass Hills, Montana. Three hundred lodges of Piegans were in camp there. Fifty-three Crees made a night attack upon the Piegans, who were asleep when fired upon. Piegans fought little during the night, but when daylight came a general charge was made upon the Crees. Big Nose mounted and charged among the Crees. His horse was shot in the head. After he was dismounted Big Nose killed one Cree with his gun and two with his knife. All the Crees were finally killed; the Piegans lost thirteen killed and five wounded. The lower part of the scene also shows Big Nose, after being dismounted, in combat with a Cree. The latter hit Big Nose on the head with a flintlock gun, and a Piegan then shot the Cree from the rear.

#### Scene 12 (1881) 8

Judith Basin, Montana. Forty lodges of Piegans were camped there. Three Sioux attempted to steal horses. They were discovered before they could carry out their design. All three were killed by Under Bull and Young Bear Chief. Big Nose took, as shown in the drawing, the gun from one of them. He charged on the Indian whose gun would not fire.

# Scene 13 (1875):

Cypress Hills, Northwest Territo . Two hundred lodges of Piegans were camped there. Four Sioux were discovered in a thicket, were surrounded, and would have been killed but for Big Nose.



He took to the brush, but his squaw Ksiskstukyake ("Bear Woman") caught hold of him and tried to pull him away. He put her to one side and went into the thicket, crawling slowly toward the Sioux until he could see them behind a breastwork they had made in a circular opening in the thicket. Three were armed with Winchester rifles, two belts of cartridges, with their knives lying in front of them. The fourth had an old flintlock gun. Big Nose parleyed with the Sioux, telling them the Great Father wanted all the Indians to make peace. He displayed the medal already referred to and a pipe he had with him, asking them to smoke, to come with him, and he would feed them and send them safely home. They threatened to kill him, even poking their guns in his face; he paid no attention to this but continued to ask them to smoke. After making signs that they would not be hurt, he could see that their leader was weakening. Big Nose then sprang inside the breastwork and grabbed him; Big Nose's squaw grabbed another and then they all came out, the Piegans not injuring them. They then turned the Sioux over to the commanding officer at Fort Walsh, Northwest Territory.

He first sent word by an Indian, now called "Jack the Ripper," to the commanding officer that they had the Sioux prisoners, but he would not believe it until Jack made oath of it. The commanding officer then sent seven soldiers and one officer and four extra horses to get them. When the officer came he still was incredulous; but when shown the pit, which was deep, and the protetion afforded by the heavy fringe of thorn bush, he was amazed at the conduct of Big Nose, and made notes and a sketch of the place.

#### Scene 14:

Four bows and quivers, tomahawk, powder horn and bullet pouch. These were coups and were taken by Big Nose in his different battles.

#### Scene 15 (1863):

North Cypress Hills, on the Elbow River, Northwest Territory. A large war party of Piegans were on the march when they came upon four Sioux, in thick timber, who had dug a pit in which they were well protected. The Piegans surrounded and fought them all one day, losing four killed and seventeen wounded. The tree shown as leaning over the Sioux was a large one up which Big Nose finally climbed, his squaw trying to pull him back. Armed with a double-barreled shotgun loaded with bullets, he killed all four Sioux; although they had been many times shot at, they had earlier been saved by the large limbs of the tree.

#### Scene 16 (1854):

In the Snall Gold by A party of 124 Piegans encountered a lodge of Snake Indians---father, mother, and two grown sons. The



three men were killed, the woman being spared. The Piegans then returned to their own country without further incident of note; this took thirty-six days as they were not mounted.

# ene 17 (1858):

On the Milk River, in Montana, where Chinook is now situated. The Piegan camp there consisted of five hundred lodges. Nearly as many Assiniboines and Crows were camped about twenty miles aways. Fighting began about midway between the camps at about mine in the morning, ending in defeat of the Crows and Assiniboines, who had seven killed and ten wounded, the Piegans losing one kalled. The two horses shown were captured, one being wounded in the neck. The rider of the black horse, when dismounted by the rounding the horse, escaped into the brush. Big Nose ran up, and the horse not away. Sitting Woman, a noted Crow chief, rode the black horse and disgraced himself by hiding in the brush. During the next charge Big Nose captured the other horse. The soreth horse, being very fat, broke down and was captured, his rider getting om behind another Indian, thus making his escape.

# Scene 18 (1856):

At a point where Great Falls, Montana, now stands on the Missouri River where it comes out of the mountains. A war party traveling at the time discovered a band of elk and thought to kill some meat. The elk ran into a large clump of timber, Fing Nose following. While trying to sneak up on the elk, a bear surprised him by charging. The bear was almost upon him when the fatal shot was fired.

#### Scene 19 (1845):

On the Missouri River, south of where Helena, Montana, now stands. A war party of Piegans were going into the Snake country, twelve in number. Traveling along, they saw elk in the edge of the timber. Big Nose, being a good shot, went after them to get some meat. The brush was thick, and the bear was almost upon Big Nose when it stopped. He shot the bear, being so close the animal was powder burned.

#### Scene 20:

Scalps taken by Big Nose. Some, however, were willed by others---the first to take has the honor.

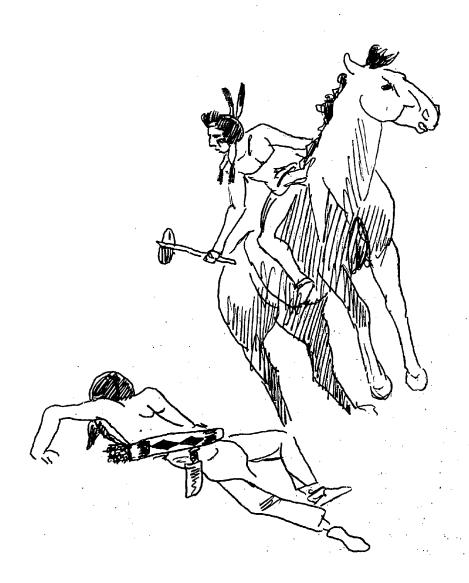
#### Scene 21:

Four Indians killed not shown in other scenes: two Sioux, one Snake, and one Pondera

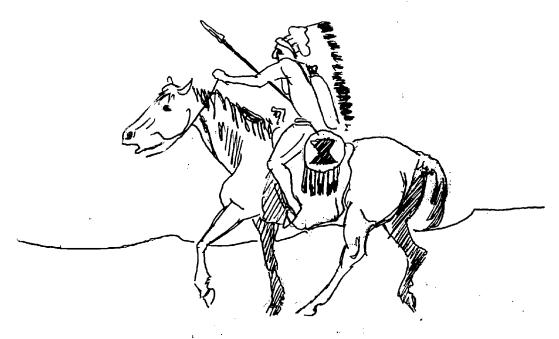
#### Scene 22:

Battles. Big Nose had been in thirty-six battles, not all shown. He had killed eleven (?) Indians in all, being himself wounded nine times---six by gunshot, and three time by being struck over the head with a gun.





The Victor



COUNTING COUP

The most creditable act that an Indian can perform is to show that he is brave: to show by some daring deed, his physical courage, his lack of fear. Courage was shown by approaching close enough to the enemy to strike or touch him with something held in the hand. To shoot an enemy was not enough. To scalp him might be praise worthy under certain circumstances but did not approach in bravery as striking him or touching him with something held in the hand --- this is counting coup. The enemy might be defending himself desperately or even if he had fallen, might have enough strength left to rise and kill his assatlant. The Indians rarely took men captive. warriors never expected quarter and never gave it; men usually fought to the death, defending themselves to the last breath, to the last striving stroke to inflict injury on his enemy. For a horseman to ride over and knock down an enemy on foot was regarded among the Blackfeet as a coup because the horseman might be shot or lanced at close quarter.





# A DUEL BETWEEN A KOO ENAY AND A BLACKFOOT Information, Joseph Jonas Interpreter, Tom Kapwits)

When I was about eighteen years old, I went to the Kootenays, and one old man there told me this story:

The who is hard of Kootenars were camping there in the valley, and some Blackfeet came around and stole the horses. Six Kootenays went after them, the same night. A mountain stood on each side. They have to pass there beyond Crowsnest. There was a trail to the valley on the other side of the pass, and the Kootenays knew that trail well. It was a trail in a half circle. So the Kootenays took a short cut and got up the \* Tk of the trai first and waited for the Blackfeet. It was night, The Kootenays heard the Blackfeet coming. They fixed their shortguns. The Blackfeet drove the Kootenays' horses, and the Kooteemys waited there, hiding on each side of the trail. One of the Blackfeet was maveling ahead. The head Kootenay shot him, and the mest shot the others. There were eight of them altogether, and they killed seem right there. One of the Blackfeet mode the fastest horse, and he rode about two miles behind the others. The Koousnays said; "One Blackfoot is missing, he rode the fastest horse!" Then the Kootemays went back and hunted about for the horses. The missing Blackfoot hid himself, and they could not find him. So they and killed seven, and one escaped. Then they went back alone to me ponies. The Blackfoot went back alone to the prairie.

One of the Mootenays said, "that was the very best horse he had. I am going to hunt for him." He added, "If I get my horse, I'Il come back; if I don't, I won't. Even if I get among the big band of Blackfeet, I must have my horse." So this Kootenay said; "Don't do this only for one horse." But he kept speating; "I have got to go."

It was early in the morning and frosty. He tracked the Blackfoot who rode immediack. He went ahead of him and waited for him.
The Blackfoot did not know it. They were riding about five yards
from each other. Both had guns. The Kootenay said: "I am coming
from the each." (Really, he was lying to him, he was coming from
the west.) They started to fill their pipes. Both were sitting.
The Kootenay said: "Between you and me, there is to be a little
play. If you ment me, you are going to get this bad race horse."
Both of them sat right up. The Blackfoot shot the Kootenay first.
And, the Kootenay shot the Blackfoot last. The Kootenay won the
duel: he shot the Blackfoot dead. He had killed him. So he took
this race horse back. And he raised the scalp the Blackfoot, so
that the other people would believe him.



### HE SANG THE VICTORY SONG

In August, 1881, Blow, idle days dragged on for us at Kipp's trading post. The Indians were still out on the plains, gathering great stores of chokecherries for winter use, hunting only for their daily meat trading with us not at all.

"I would like to have a few days off to go and camp again with the Blackfeer." I said to Kipp one evening.

"Well, go." he amswered shortly.

Early the next merning I saddled my buffalo horse, tied on a slender roll of blankets, and was on my way. In good time I arrived in the Blackfoot camp or Musselshell River, at the mouth of Crooked Creek, where I was welcomed in the lodge of Three Bears, father of my close friend Eagle Head. Like myself, Eagle Head was twenty-two years of age. Presently I was seated on the couch which I was to share with him, while his mother, Spear Woman, and his premy sister, Paiot Ahti, "Flying Woman," were setting food before me: a bowl of soup, a plate of rich, berry permican. I ate heartily, cleaned the plate, and drank a secsound bowl of soup. Then Three Bears lit and passed his huge, black, stone mipe, and we smoked. Later Eagle Head and I went visiting here and there and in the evening looked on at a dance of the Raven Carriers band of the All Friends warriors society. Mature, experienced warriors were the Rawen Carriers, and soon to go to war against the Cutthroats.

Spear Woman had decided that her damphter should have a new gown of soft-armed thin antelope skins, and there was much talk about the making of it. There should be, they decided, two suns of red, white, and yellow porcupine quilliwork on the breast; a red quill butterfly—symbol of good dreams and good luck—high up on the back; and from the waist down, rows of elk tushes. Six antelope skins were needed for it, the mother said, and it was for Eagle Head and me to furnish them.

So was it that we four rode out from camp early one morning. Eagle Head and I to hunt, mother and daughter to gather choke-cherries. As we turned from the camp, heading up the valley of the Masselshell, Eagle Head broke out with the Defiance Song: "Ahksi Kiwa! Ahksi Kiwa! Ahksi Kiwa!" ("I care for nothing! I care for nothing!").

"Eagle Head," exclaimed Spear Woman, "at once stop singing that had-luck song else you will get us into trouble! For three



days your uncle, Little Otter, sang it before he went out against that bad Cutthroat, White Dog, and he never returned. It is an unlucky song for this family. I forbid you to sing it."

"Ha! Just your woman's though of it. It is a good song; it makes one feel brave," he replied, but sang it no more.

After riding up the valley five or six miles we turned east into a wide brushy coulee. Eagle Head, wearing a cap made of the upper skim and horns of a buck antelope head, was in the lead. As we neared the head of the coulee he motioned for us to stop and went on very slowly, rising often in his stirrups to get a view of the plain. Suddenly he ducked, slid from his horse, and becknown us to join him. In a moment we were out of our saddles and beside him.

"Step out alittle farther, look out through the brush and you will see them, a big band of antelope," he said.

Sure enough, well up on the slope of a ridge about a mile south of us was a band of a hundred or more, all lying down except three or four sentinel bucks keenly watching for the possible coming of enemies, wolves or men. Between them and us stretched a level plain, but close behind the ridge on which they were resting was a long coulee running down to the walley of the river.

Eagle Head spoke swiftly to his mother, "You and sister turn back with us to the mouth of this coulee where we saw the big patch of cherries. Then Apikuni and I will go on up the walley behind the ridge until we are opposite the antelope. If they remain where they rere now, we shall be able to kill all we want."

That meant that we would make a circle of four or five miles before we would get to the band. Back we all went to the mouth of the coulee, and as Eagle Head and I parted from the women at the edge of the cherry trees he said to them: "There! Pick plenty of fruit; but when you hear us shoot, come hurrying to help butcher our kills."

We left them, eagerly beginning to fill their pouches with the ripe fruit, and rode as fast as we could up the valley. When we came to the mouth of the coulee, Eagle Head turned up to the rim of the plain for another look at the game and reported that the bend was still Lying down.

We found this coulee to be narrow, winding, and boulder strewn, and it took us some time to work our way up it and past



the ridge. At last we left it and rode along until we thought that we were opposite the game; then, dismounting, we picketed our horses and headed for the summit of the ridge. From that high point we looked down the other slope through its growth of sage and found that the antelope were straight below us, but more than three hundred yards away. Save for three sentinel bucks, all were lying down.

Creeping back a little way, Eagle Head signed to me: "They are too far for sure killing. Stay where you are; be ready; I will bring them close to us."

Advancing, he rose until his horned cap showed plainly above the sagebrush. At sight of it the white rump hair of the sentinels bristled. Eagle Head lowered his cap out of sight, then exposed it again three or four times. Apparently the old sentinels thought it was the head of one of their kind, and they resented its presence in the vicinity of their family of does and young. At second sight of the cap, they stepped stiffly forward, shaking their heads, stamping their forefeet, and snorting, causing the whole band to spring up in alarm; and, as the cap bobbed up for the fourth time, the sentinels came charging toward us, followed by the others.

That was what we had hoped to bring about. The leaders of the band were almost upon us when we opened fire, but at our first shots they quartered back down the ridge like the wind, and in no time they were gone out of range. However, they left eight of their number dead or dying in their wake.

As we put the wounded out of their misery and began plying our knives, Eagle Head remarked that the women had undoubtedly heard our shots and would soon be coming to do their share in skinning the kills. But they did not appear, and Eagle Head said: "That is the way of women. Once they get into a good berry patch they forget all else."

At last we finished the butchering and tied the skins to our saddles. Gathering the meat in one place to be packed to camp on the following day, I tied my handkerchief to a bush beside it to keep the wolves and coyotes away.

It was midafternoon when we mounted our horses and hurried off down the plain to join the women. But when we arrived at the place where we had left them they were not there. Deciding that they must have filled their pouches with berries and gone back to camp, we were about to follow when we discovered their



big saddle pouches, half-filled with cherries, lying where their horses had been tied. Their small hand pouches were near by, too, evidently thrown down in haste, for cherries were scattered on the ground.

"What could have happened," Eagle Head exclaimed, "to cause them to leave their pickings so suddenly?"

We saw no signs of anything that could have frightened them, but circling about, we found the trail of their horses headed up the valley away from camp and traveling fast. That alarmed us.

It was easy to follow the horses' hoofprints in the broad, dusty game trail, which soon led us to the river and across it into a body of timber. There we found something more to confuse us, for a herd of buffalo had swept up through the bottom obliterating the horses' tracks. Whence had come the buffalo? We had not seen them. And what had caused them to run up the valley? Evidently they had been frightened into flight after the women had gone up through the grove. We rode this way and that, searching the various trails for some explanation, Eagle Head calling loudly upon his gods for help.

"Oh, Sun! All you Above Ones! Help us find my mother, my sister, and save them from whatever danger they are in," he repeatedly cried.

It was I, riding out to the edge of the grove, who found the reason for the flight of the women. In a game trail I discovered the footprints of a number of horses on top of those of the buffalo. Calling Eagle Head, I showed him them.

"Ha! A war party! We must hurry! Come on!"

A mile or so farther on there was a sharp bend in the valley to the west, where the buffalo herd had left it, going due south up a depression in the plain. The horses tracks continued in one of the game trails.

We were speeding through a large grove when suddenly Flying Woman sprang out from a growth of willows bordering the trail, shrieking to us to stop. Her eyes were big with fear, and when Eagle Head sprang from his horse and embraced her, she was trembling and so hysterical that it was hard to understand what she said.

"They are an enemy war party---eight riders---we saw them coming---had a good start on them---they scared some buffalo that



followed us---then turned off---my horse too slow---Mother made me get off, hide here---she rode on with it---said she could go faster than enemies---would reach you first."

"You stay here until we come for you," Eagle Head told her as he remounted his horse. "But if we don't return before night, head for camp, and be sure to keep in the thick timber as much as possible."

"Yes, brother," she replied, then added as we were starting on: "They ride our people's horses. White Antelope's old black and white pinto is one of them; Heavy Runner's yellow and white, another."

That meant that we had some chance of overtaking them. They had, no doubt, raided the outside herds of our camp, and in their haste had taken slow travois and pack horses.

Perspiration washed furrows in Eagles Head's painted cheeks, and his eyes were wild; he was half out of his mind in his anxiety for his mother. I, too, was worried for her and for ourselves. Speeding up our horses, we tried to make up for several precious minutes we had lost talking with Flying Woman. The trail of the war party was not hard to follow, and at last on the farther side of a ford we learned that we were not far behind them, for the stony shore was still wet with water that had dripped from their horses.

"Take courage! Take courage!" Eagle Head called to me.
"We are overtaking them!"

"I do take courage," I answered stoutly, at the same time feeling very uneasy about the outcome of our chase---we but two against eight men.

The sun was low when, hot on their trail, we left the valley and turned west on the plain. There they were a half-mile or so away, chasing the woman, who was about that distance ahead of them and still leading her daughter's horse. She was gradually circling, with the intention of heading back downriver, but she was losing ground, for her pursuers were cutting across the circle. We cut, too.

Our horses were winded, but so were those of the enemy, and ours were speedier. Slowly we gained on them. The fleeing woman, looking back, saw that her pursuers were creeping up on her. Suddenly she stopped, turned her mount, sprang onto the one she had been leading, and sped on. While making the change, brief though



it was, the enemy had come within shooting range of her, but they did not open fire; it was evident that their object was to capture her. So intent upon it were they that they had not discovered Eagle Head and me pursuing and gaining on them.

We were within three hundred yards of the party when one of them, looking back, discovered us. At once we opened fire on them, shooting as fast as we could take sight and work the levers of our Winchesters, they shooting at us in return. Almost at once one of them pitched head foremost on the ground, and a horse dropped its rider landing upright on his feet. Then with an almost human shriek of agony, Eagle Head's horse fell, lay still, pinning the young Indian's right foot and ankle to the ground.

"I will free you," I shouted, springing from my horse.

"No, keep on shooting. I can free myself," he yelled.

One of the riders kept on in pursuit of Spear Woman, while the others began circling around and around us, shooting as they rode. The man whose horse had been killed was not in sight. I felt sure that he was crawling through the sagebrush to get a close shot at us. Surely this hidden, crawling one was our greatest danger. Between shots at the circling riders, I scanned the sagebrush for some betraying movement of his presence.

Though taking careful sight at the circling riders, we were making no kills of horses or men. The enemy's bullets thudded into the brush and ground around us, some of them all too close. A bullet brained my horse. As it fell, I sprang and crouched at its side for some protection from the man off there in the sagebrush, without doubt crawling slowly, steadily toward us. I shivered.

Eagle Head's voice was firm as he urged: "Keep courage! Keep courage! Shoot with careful aim to kill."

I did not answer, but kept shooting at the nearest rider, a big man no more than 250 yards away. Intermittently he sang as he fired his single-shot rifle at us, reloaded, and fired again without haste. He seemed to be saying: "You are to die!"

Eagle Head, as he afterward told me, was shooting exclusively at him. One or the other of us shot his horse, breaking a foreleg. It stumbled, tried to go on three legs, gave up. The Indian sprang off, dove into the sagebrush, also to crawl in closer. I felt that our end was near. It was a sickening thought.



Between shots I looked off at Spear Woman and her pursuer; he was gradually gaining on her; would surely overtake and seize her, make her his slave. Terrible, oh, terrible would be her fate!

I fired two more shots at one of the circling riders and missed. No slight sign could I see of our crawling enemies. In their own good time they would get us. Desperately I slipped my four last cartridges into the magazine of my rifle, thinking to myself that I would never get a chance to use them all. With careful aim I fired at the circling Indians; missed again. Levering another cartridge into the barrel of my rifle, I looked off at Spear Woman and her pursuer, and could hardly believe my eyes.

"Eagle Head! Eagle Head!" I shouted. "See them! We survive!"

A little way beyond Spear Woman forty or fifty riders had come up out of a coulee and were galloping toward her, waving their hands and shouting. At sight of them her pursuer turned abruptly and headed for his companions, who stopped circling us and drew together, yelling excitedly.

"Our fighting men! We survive!" Eagle Head shouted joyously.

The two horseless Indians sprang up behind two of their party and all were off, madly quirting their beasts and heading for a coulee away to the south. Eagle Head and I fired our remaining cartridges at them, but neither of us made a kill. And then our warriors were speeding past us, yelling happily, noticeably gaining on our fleeing enemies.

At last came Spear Woman. Springing from her horse, crying and laughing both, she hugged and kissed Eagle Head, turned and did the same to me, saying again and again: "Oh, how powerful, how good is Sun! He brought our warriors to our rescue; he saved us!"

Eagle Head ran and seized the horse of the man we had killed. It was strange, I thought, that one or the other of our horseless enemies had not tried to take it for his getaway.

Said Spear Woman, "Oh, my saved ones! Didn't you make any kills?"

"One," Eagle Head replied. "I killed him. Now I count coup upon him!" And with that he ran and scalped the man, a Cutthroat, and took his belongings, a Springfield carbine, belt of cartridges, knife, and war bonnet in a parfleche case.



Spear Woman happily looked on, singing and exclaiming again and again: "My son Eagle Head, he killed this enemy. Brave is my son Eagle Head!"

So happy were they over the kill that I refrained from saying that it might have been my bullet that tumbled the man from his horse.

Our enemies and their pursuers had gone out of sight beyond a low ridge of the plain, but now, as we heard distant rapid shooting mother and son fervently prayed the Above Ones, Sun, Moon, and Morning Star, to keep our warriors safe and help them to kill off the enemy.

Anxiously we awaited their return, and presently they appeared topping the ridge, singing the victory song, waving scalps, leading the horses that the Cutthroats had stolen from our herds during the night. All seven of the Indians were dead out there on the plain, and not one of our rescuers had been killed.

So was it that I had a horse to ride homeward, in place of my fast buffalo runner that had been shot. We found Flying Woman right where we had left her, and gave her back her own horse to ride.

That evening our lodge was crowded with visitors to hear us tell of our day's experiences. At last, when all had gone and we were about to take our rest, Spear Woman said to Eagle Head: "My son, it was your singing of the Defiance Song that nearly caused the end of us today. Now you know that you should never sing it, the terrible, terrible bad-luck song."

"Yes, I sang it" he replied, " and what happened? Why, we killed eight Cutthroats, took eight guns and many other things. Mother, can't you see that it is the best of good-luck songs?"

And to that Spear Woman had no answer.



#### FEMALE WAR CHIEF OF THE BLACKFEET

Near Two Medicine Lake in Glacier National Park, Montana, lovely Trick Falls tumbles down over a limestone cliff. The name must have seemed fitting to the white man who chose it, but for many years the falls had another and much more original name given them by the Blackfeet Indiana whose lodges stood on the shores of Two Medicine Lake and whose children played in the pool at the foot of the falls when the water was low and warm.

Sometimes in the long ago, cracks developed in the limestone cliff over which the little river flows to form the falls; water seeping into the fissures dissolved some of the limestone and eventually created a second channel below the course of the main stream. The water flowing through this underground channel gushes out in a second fall below the upper one.

In the season when the snows melt in the high mountains, the little river fills its banks and runs wide and deep over the upper fall so that the lower is not easily observed. Later, during the period of low water, the greatly reduced upper fall ripples thin and narrow and the lower is much more noticeable. This is supposed to be the "trick" in Trick Falls.

James Willard Schultz, who lived among the Blackfeet for a long time and wrote with knowledge and understanding about them, said that his friend, Tail-Feathers-Coming-Over-the-Hill, spoke for his people who deeply resented the changing of the name. To them, "trick" suggested something cheap and shallow. Their own name for the falls was significant, meaningful. The old chiefs used to tell its story in the lodges and around campfires and the children listened; but the old chiefs are gone. Gone too are the story tellers, and many of today's young Blackfeet do not know that Trick Falls once had another name.

During the days of the Hudson's Bay Company's profitable trade with the western Indians, the parents in a Blackfoot family died, leaving five children. The eldest was Weasel Woman, a girl of fifteen. She had two brothers and two little sisters. It was customary among the Blackfeet to parcel out orphans among relatives or members of the tribe, but young Weasel Woman would have none of that. She would take care of the children, keep the family together. Her brothers, she said, were old enough to hunt, and provide meat and skins. She and her sisters would prepare food, tan skins and keep the lodge.



Encouraged and inspired by their older sister, the young boys soon became hunters. At first they trapped squirrels and shot pheasants with their bows and arrows. Later they brought in beaver, bear and deer. The girls cooked some of the meat, dried the rest. In summer they picked and dried the plentiful and delicious huckleberries, and made permican which kept indefinitely and sustained life when no other food was available. The girls tanned the skins, sewed garments and made moccasins for themselves and their brothers. No lodge was better kept.

So well did Weasel Woman look after the needs of her family that she won the admiration and respect of every member of her tribe. Not only was she clever and industrious, but according to the standards of her people, she was beautiful in face and form. More than one young man, and some not so young, looked upon her with favor and desired her for their own. But unlike other girls of her age, Weasel Woman did not wish to marry. When the warriors would return from a battle or raid, she helped the women prepare the feast in their honor, but while the other girls coyly played for the attention of the young men, Weasel Woman sat eagerly listening to the braves boast of their victories, and the loot taken in a raid. She praised their exploits but refused all romantic gestures.

Did she turn men away because she enjoyed the superior position of being head of a family, making decisions, giving orders, settling disputes and was reluctant to trade for the inferior role allotted to a wife? Would she have felt differently had her parents lived and she been only a daughter in her father's lodge? Or would she, under any circumstances, have been different from others of her sex, with a woman's beautiful body and a man's ambitious mind? Who knows?

The Flatheads and the other Salish Indian tribes were the traditional enemies of the Blackfeet, and nothing brought more honor to a Blackfoot warrior than to outwit an enemy in a raid or outdo him in battle. One night when Weasel Woman was in her twentieth year, a party of Blackfeet set off across the mountains to the west to raid a Flathead village. In the morning they discovered Weasel Woman among them. The head chief liked the girl, as all did who knew her, but he sternly ordered her to return to camp. Only men went on raids.

Weasel Woman, however, was not a meek female to be sent home to patiently await the warriors' return. "If you do not let me go with you, I will follow," she answered.

No doubt the chief would have forced her to go back but the Medicine Man intervened. "Let her stay," he advised. His medicine had told him that she would bring them good luck.



The Medicine Man was held in high esteem by all. Even the chief stood a little in awe of him. No one doubted that his words were words of wisdom. So Weasel Women was given the privilege of accompanying the men on a raid. Every one of them treated her with respect.

When the Blackfeet came within sight of Flathead Lake they saw a large encampment of Flatheads and Pend Oreilles and many horses, the chief object of the raid. The Blackfeet concealed themselves until night could hide their silent approach to camp.

When but a short distance from the lodges, Weasel Woman whispered to the chief, "Let me go first. I feel I shall take horses." The Medicine Man approved. The chief gave permission.

With less sound than that of the light breeze, Weasel Woman slipped into the sleeping camp. The Flatheads had many good horses picketed near the lodges of their owners. There were fine stallions, buffalo horses, racers. The girl was a good judge of horses and she had a way with them. There was no snorting, no stamping of feet, no whinnying, as by the dim light of a thin moon she chose three of the best, cut their ropes and led them out through the trees to where the men waited. Leaving them with her friends, she was again one with the shadows only to reappear in a few moments with three more horses. Then she told the men that she had taken enough and they should have their chance.

The men entered the camp several times, each time returning with horses until they had a big band. Then quietly and quickly the Blackfeet headed for their own camp beyond the mountains, leaving an unsuspecting village behind. They arrived home without the loss of a man or a horse. It was a highly successful raid.

Among the Blackfeet, as among many other tribes, horse stealing was not a crime but a game of skill and wits. It was often a rough game, to be sure, with death as a player, but to the one who brought back the most or the best horses went the loudest praise, the highest honor.

The night the triumphant warriors returned, with Weasel Woman leading six horses, there was great rejoicing, feasting and dancing. When the time came for each warrior to count coup. Weasel Woman was told to count coup also. She did. Then the head chief made a speech praising Weasel Woman. She had brought them good luck as the Medicine Man had predicted. She was worthy



of much honor; she must have a new name. The great Chief Pitamakan (Running Eagle) was no buried with his fathers. Weasel Woman should have his name. The braves sent up a loud shout of approval. No greater honor could be given a woman. From that moment she bore the proud name of litamakan, and was asked to go with the men on raids.

she dressed as a warrior. She went against the Sioux and the Crows, never running from a fight, never being injured. Soon she was made a war chief. Men were eager to join the party she led, for they believed in the words of the Medicine Man. They believed in Pitamakan.

The old chiefs claimed that she was the first Blackfoot to own a gun, am ancient weapon secured from the French traders who, knowing of her skill and courage, called her the Joan of Arc of the Blackfeet. With the old gun she killed three of the enemy in battle and took their rifles.

At home she gave feast and dances, the privilege of a chief. She had many horses, the wealth of the Indians. She was generous with those who were in need. Life was good.

Once when she was leading a large raiding party she was joined by a sizable number of Bloods, a tribe related to the Blackfeet. Leading the Bloods was the well known and respected Falling Bear. After traveling together for several days, Falling Bear spoke to the boy in charge of Pitamakan's horses. "Tell your Woman Chief that Falling Bear wishes to marry her."

The boy knew that many men wished to marry Pitamakan; he also knew the futility of their wishing. He explained that his chief considered all men her brothers and would not marry any one of them. The boy said he was afraid Pitamakan would be very angry with him if he mentioned such a thing to her.

Falling Bear could not believe that there was a woman who would not wish to marry a chief such as he, but agreed it might be better to make the offer himself. Accordingly, he rode up beside Pitamakan and told her that never before had he wished to marry, but upon watching her he did. He professed his love and asked her to be his wife. Pitamakan realized that it was an honor to be asked to be the only wife of Falling Bear and she did not want to offend him with a blunt refusal. After a moment's thought she said, "I will not say yes and I will not say no, after the raid I will give you my answer."



That night they came to the camp of the Flatheads and the Kootenais and made ready for the horse stealing game. Pitamakan, said to the Blood chief, "You go in first," Falling Bear went in and came back shortly with a good horse. Then Pitamakan went in and came back with two good horses. Falling Bear tried again and that time stole two horses. On Pitamakan's second try she captured four horses. This went on until Falling Bear had nime and Pitamakan fifteen horses. Then she said it was time for the others to have their turns.

This raid, too, was very successful and on the way home Falling Bear asked Pitamakan to give him her answer.

"You have my answer," she told him. "You had the first chance to take horses. If you had taken the most I would have married you. I took the most, so I cannot be your wife." The old chiefs said he rode away sorrowfully without another word.

Eight times after she became War Chief, Pitamakan led a war or raiding party on the long trek across the mountains into enemy country, and each time returned victorious. Seldom had there been such a great leader, never one more willingly followed. But on the ninth raid something went wrong. Had she become overconfident, less cautious? Had the many losses suffered by the Flathead people made them more watchful, braver, or better fighters? Was it simply that for Pitamakan time had run out while she was still young and beautiful? Again, who knows?

Pitamakan and five of her braves were killed. There was much sorrow in the camp of the Blackfeet when the warriors returned home. There must have been mourning for the young braves who did not come back, but so much greater was the mourning for the Woman Chief that grief for her loss overshadowed that for the five men. Their names have long been forgotten.

It is claimed that the next spring the Blackfeet went to war with the Flatheads to avenge the death of Pitamakan. But to do proper honor to her memory her people turned to nature for a fitting monument, and what could be more suitable or more symbolic than the bright water which leaped over a cliff? The water which ran full and wide in the moons when the snows melted, where the ferns grew tall and the little redbirds hatched their young; and in the moons when the ferns turned brown, where the bright water poured from the very cliff itself? Was it not strange and beautiful and unlike any other?



That is the way it seemed to the old chiefs. That is the way it seemed to Tail-Feathers-Coming-Over-the-Hill, who spoke for his people. So they named the waterfall Pitamakan im honor of the omly woman ever to be a War Chief of the Blackfeet.

Today it is called Trick Falls.



# CHAPTER V - INDIAN STORIES

The Major's Blackfoot Bride Heavy Collar and the Ghost Woman Legend of Chief Mountain An Indian Story; Running Fisher Origin of the Sacred Buffalo Horn



#### THE MAJOR'S BLACKFOOT BRIDE

One of the juiciest bits of gossip of its day was an item published in the Peoria, Illinois <u>Daily Transcript</u> of September 12, 1859. It was announced in a discreet paragraph:

"Major Alexander Culbertson was married on September 9th, in Peoria by Rev. Father Scanlon of St. Joseph, Missouri, to his Blackfoot Indian wife 'Natawista' (Natawistacha-Iskana was the family spelling of her name) to whom he had been married some 16 or 17 years previous (1840). Among the guest was Captain James Kipp, a member of the American Fur Company, and an old associate of Major Culbertson's since the latter's connection with the Fur Company. Father Scanlon is an old friend also, who established a Catholic mission among the Indians of the Blackfoot Nation. Mrs Culbertson is a lady of talent. She rendered good service to Governor Stevens and Major Culbertson...at the time they visited the Blackfoot country and made a treaty of the Judith between the government and the nation to which she beconged."

Natawistacha-Iskana---"Sacred Snake Woman" (or Medicine Snake Woman, as she was called by some)---was my great-grandmother. Her daughter, Julia Culbertson Roberts was my grandmother. I can recall how my grandmother's gray eyes would gleam with amusement when she recalled "the marriage ceremony" of her parents. At the time her brother Jack, the eldest, was sixteen and she, thirteen. Frances, called "Fannie," was some years younger than Julia. And Baby Joe, who had been born that year at Peoria, had been held up in his nurse's arms to view this rather unusual event.

The romance of this exceptional couple from widely divergent cultures occured in the fall of 1840 when "Natty" rode outlined against the piercing blue of the fall Montana sky in the train of her father Ma-Ne-To-Kos (Father of all Children), chief of the Blood tribe of the Blackfoot Nation. Decked in full finery they were returning from a summer spent in Canada to their winter encampment on the Yellowstone River near Fort Union.

Culbertson, standing on the bastion of the fort, looked through his spy glass with more than ordinary interest. At thirty, he was in line to succeed Kenneth McKenzie as chief factor of the American Fur Company, but that day his interest was certainly more than commercial as the cavalcade galloped into view.

The American Fur Company had entered the Upper Missouri in 1828. John Jacob Astor was the organizer and sole owner of this successful trading firm for many years. From the beginning the



American Fur Company's trade with the Blackfoot Nation was one of its main projects. These proud, war-like Indians had developed an implacable hatred for the mountain men from the States which they never lost, and in addition they had been brainwashed by the Canadian Hudson's Bay Company who wanted their exclusive business. The result had been the complete rejection of any overtures from the American Fur Company---so emphatic that several company traders had been killed.

This had had a most discouraging effect on the American Fur Company until Kenneth McKenzie, chief factor at the time, managed to secure a toe-hold in the Blackfoot country in 1832. The trade at Fort McKenzie at the mouth of the Marias River was still far from satisfactory, and it was Gulbertson's ambition to make every effort to improve it.

It is obvious that Culbertson felt an alliance with this beautiful Indian girl of fifteen would have its advantages. It would bring the friendship of her father, the head chief, and her brothers Red Crow, Gray Eyes and Eagle Ribs, all men of importance in their tribe and the Blackfoot Nation.

It is equally probable that Natawistacha-Iskana knew a great deal about the major---that he was six feet tall, handsome, a noted horseman, and one skilled in the sports of the frontier. She was also undoubtedly aware that he would take over command of the American Fur Company when McKenzie retired and that his rapid promotion and influence had resulted from his complete mastery of the psychology of the Indian. He spoke the patois of the French traders and was fluent in many Indian languages. From their first contact the Plains Indians' respect and trust for "Little Beaver" (their name for him because of his industry) never faltered and he, in turn, never betrayed them.

Culbertson had been married before to an Indian woman who had borne two daughters, Jane, called "Janie," and Maria (who was baptized by Father De Smet on November 5, 1846 at Fort Union which indicates that she was living with her father and her new step-mother). Records show that Janie was sent east to school, that she was married in 1859 and died in 1860. There seems to be no record of Maria in later life.

Plural wives were not uncommon among the Plains Indians. As with most nomadic people, the attrition of war and the hazards of their daily life made it imperative for young women, who had lost their husbands, to find a protector as quickly as possible. Sisters frequently shared the same husband with apparent



good nature, which was also accorded the "Sits-Beside-Me-Wife," the husband's favorite who accompanied him to feast and such.

But this sort of domestic arrangement was not for Alexander Culbertson, brought up in a distinquished Scots-Irish Family who had established Culbertson's Row near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania in 1773. He quietly divorced his first Indian wife some time before paying court to Natawistacha-Iskana whose position as his lawful wife and the "First Lady of the Upper Missouri" was never challenged.

The courtship of the young girl and the major was extremely brief according to the accepted traditions of the Blood tribe. Culbertson, as soon as he saw the smoke drift up from the chief's lodge, sent a clerk from the fort with nine fine horses to tie to the door of Natawistacha-Iskana's elder brother's lodge.

Apparently the present and offer it implied was well received, if not expected, for on the following day nine horses of equal value were fastened to the door of the major's quarters. This exchange was in no sense a bride-barter, but showed the esteem in which the maiden was held by her family and by her suitor. Shortly after all this the bride-to-be was escorted to Fort Union by her family and presented to the bridegroom.

In this simple manner the wedding vows were made which resulted in thirty years of constant companionship and mutual support. In time the relationship took on the aspect of a sovereign and his consort, for Culbertson was a dominant figure on the Upper Missouri.

Had she been an European, the young Blood girl's rank would have been that of princess, but no such designation prevailed among her people. She was simply the daughter of the principal chief and was educated and trained accordingly. Rather than painting watercolors of flowers and landscapes she decorated the tipi with designs whose colors were skillfully blended from clays, flowers and animal substances. Rather than needlepoint she embroidered parfleches (tanned skin bags) with dyed porcupine quills set out with bead designs.

The work of making and decorating shirts, bags and other equipment was done chiefly for her brothers. Among the Bloods a beautiful brother and sister relationship existed. Brothers felt a protective responsibility toward their sisters who, in turn, did many favors for them.

After Natawistacha-Iskana was married, this association became extremely formal. Yet, it did not mean a coldness had occur-



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red for the opposite was demonstrated when their sister used her influence with them to the great advantage of the United States Government as well as the American Fur Company.

From this marriage five children were born, Jack, the eldest was born either in 1843 or 1844. Nancy, the second child was born in 1848 and baptized by Father De Smet in July 1851. Shortly thereafter she was drowned in the Missouri River. It was during this period of great anguish that Major Culbertson decided to send his children east to school, and they were shipped off to Pennsylvania over the violent objections of his wife.

While Madame Culbertson grieved over the absence of her children, she became drawn more and more into the orbit of her husband's amtitions. As his hostess and embassadress she accompanied him everywhere and as time went on played a vital role in the affairs of the region.

One of the interesting developments in the life of the Culbertsons was the arrival of John James Audubon at Fort Union. He came to the Upper Missouri country to study the animals there. Audubon was fascinated by the pretty young Indian matron and seems to have been the first person to write of her. In his journals he describes her skill as a swimmer, for as he was sketching mallards on the banks of the Missouri she slipped into the river and soon came up with four fine ducks, which she had captured alive and quacking with only her hands. She presented these to Audubon who recorded, "She was able to stay under water for a long time."

One time Madame Culbertson was even too much for Audubon and he wrote of his revulsion when she directed that the skull of a recently killed buffalo be cracked so that she could devour the brains. However, he overlooked this so-called primitive taste in food in favor of those softer moments when she would sit silently beside him for hours while he would pore over the construction of the claw of a bird, or when he painted the animals and birds in the living colors she knew to be so right. She presented him with many samples of her own native work.

In 1842 a most disastrous event plunged the American Fur Company into a near war with the Blackfoot Nation. Because of unsatisfactory returns from Fort Pierre, now in South Dakota, Major Culbertson was transferred to that trading post to straighten out the trouble. Knowing the extreme difficulty of dealing with the Blackfeet, with whom he had been making good progress, Culbertson urged that someone else be sent in his place but, despite his strenuous objections, the officials insited he leave at once for Fort Pierre. F. A. Chardon was sent to replace him at Fort Mc Kenzie.

Later in the season, a party of Blackfeet returning from a raid chose to hang around the fort. The exasperated Chardon sent out some employees to chase them away and in the scuffle a Negro named Reese was killed.

Urged on by his assistant Harvey, whose thumb he was under, Chardon planned his revenge. The next Blackfeet who, with family members, came to trade were lured into the fort grounds and blasted with a cannon filled with heavy shot. Thirty men and women were killed; others escaped by climbing over the compound walls. Then the white men mutilated and scalped the Indians and held a savage dance around their bodies. After this terrible crime the traders, with Chardon and Harvey burned the fort to the ground and fled in fear of their lives from a possible Blackfoot attack.

In May of the same year, this act came to the attention of the officials of the American Fur Company and the guilty men were promptly removed from the area, but it appeared as though all trade with the Blackfoot Nation was doomed and that war was inevitable. Once again the company turned to Major Culbertson and his wife. The major was urged to return to the Blackfoot country and try to calm the dangerous situation.

When he was contacted, and it took considerable time to get the message to him, Culbertson refused to comply. He reminded the officials that he had warned them about the difficulty of handling the Blackfeet and felt that it was unfair to ask him to return to their country at the probable risk of his life.

Despite Culbertson's reluctance, Pierre Choteau, head of the organization and then in New York City, pleaded for a meeting there in June and the major consented. After an agreement was reached Culbertson asked for two weeks to spend with his family and Audubon before what seemed, at the time, certain death on the Upper Missouri.

It is believed that Culbertson took his wife along on this perilous adventure for several reasons. First, and most important, she would not have had it otherwise; secondly, she was probably the deciding factor in "resuming negotiations" with the Blackfoot Nation.

Early in 1844 Major Culbertson had a conversation with a Blood Indian who had stumbled on their fort. This man told them that Mah-K or Big Swan, a leading chief, was camped with his band on Belly River. Through this Blood, the major sent a message to Big Swan and asked for a treaty meeting which resulted in a pow-wow with the leaders and some fifty men who, after consultation, de-



cided to again enter into trading relations with the American Fur Company. Big Swan said, "The ground has been made good again by Major Culbertson's recurn. The Blackfeet must not be the first to stain it with blood."

After a few years spent at Fort Lewis, for the post had been named for the explorer, Culbertson decided the situation was most undesirable because the great amount of ice in the spring and fall made it almost impossible for the Indians to ferry their furs over from the other side. A better location was needed at once.

Exactly when the ground was broken for the new to-be famous fort is not exactly known but it was built of adobe bricks and completed in 1846 on the Upper Missouri. Up to the night of the Christmas Ball, given by the Culbertsons, no name had been given to the new fort. There was quite some speculation among all those who had been invited, and these included the traders, clerks, and officials.

One concession Madame Culbertson never made to white attire and style concerned her coiffure. She never put up her hair but always wore it in two glossy braids. Rings she wore on most every finger, including the thumbs, for she was very proud of her small hands which seem to be an Indian characteristic.

When the party was at its height and the wines and whiskey had circulated around, the musiciens were signaled to stop. The major then moved to the center of the floor and announced that the post was to be named Fort Benton after his great and good friend Thomas Hart Benton, Senator from Missouri.

Perhaps the most important contribution of Natawistacha-Iskana to her husband's people was reported by later Governor I. I. Stevens a young army officer who had been connected for a number of years with the U. S. Coastal Survey. At the time, he was commissioned by the government to explore a northern route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Vacific Coast.

Arriving at Fort Benton, Stevens immediately secured the help and support of Major Culbertson. Much of the success of the project at this time depended on the attitude of the Blackfoot Nation which was always unpredictable but with the aid of Mrs. Culbertson Stevens' efforts were brought to a successful conclusion.

The major and his lady accompanied Stevens into the country of her people where they were well received even though Stevens had felt afraid to have Mrs. Culbertson accompany them. He quoted in his government report her remarks to her husband, "My people are



good people, but they are jealous and vindictive. I am afraid that they and the whites will not understand each other; but if I go I may be able to explain things to them. I know there is a danger, but my husband, where you go I will go, and where you die, I will die."

Governor Stevens wrote, "Mrs. Culbertson, who had fully adopted the manners, costume and deportment of the whites, and by her refinement presents the most striking illustration of the high civilization which these tribes of the interior are capable of obtaining, rendered the highest service to the expedition, a service which demands public acknowledgement."

Natty was indeed an invaluable asset to this council, but then she had been an asset to the major since their marriage. Indeed, she could be classed with Sacajawea as an equal in furthering the winning of the West. Perhaps she, too, did a disservice to her own people, but the ultimate outcome was inevitable, and her mediations prevented more serious bloodshed and anguish.

Stevens discovered that Natawistacha-Iskana and her friends and relatives were very social and gay. On this journey the Culbertsons' tent was pitched between the sentry lines of the two parties and all from the Indian camp came to her tent and visted freely. Mrs. Culbertson's pantomine of a fat woman she had seen in a circus sent her Indian visitors into rounds of laughter, as did her imitations of the ladies of the St. Louis social set.

At one time Father Point, a catholic missionary to the Indians, became very upset with the Culbertsons. Because one of the children was quite ill with croup and had not been helped by white remedies, Mrs. Culbertson called in a Blood medicine woman who created a steam from herbs by dropping hot stones in water. Naturally, all of this was accompanied by chants in a loud tone. Father Point, who was in the room below, heard the woman and rushed upstairs and threw her out of the room and down the stairs. Natty, never noted for an angelic disposition, told the priest to leave and mind his own business, and brought the woman back who succeeded in breaking the croup.

Father Point appealed to the major against such heathen goings on but the latter did nothing about it, much to the priest's indignation.

A notice marking a milestone in the life of the Culbertsons appeared in the August 19, 1859 issue of the Peoria <u>Daily Transcript</u>: "Major Culbertson will arrive in Peoria on Saturday Aug. 20th. He has been in the Upper Missouri country, connected with the American Fur Company, as a partner. He will retire to his



farm near Peoria." However, the major did not completely retire, quite the contrary, for he retained a close connection with the company until 1861 when he resigned with an accumulated wealth believed to be over \$300,000 in gold. A vast fortune in those days.

Endless stories were told of the reckless extravagances of the family. The major left chestfuls of gold coins about the house for friends and relatives to take (which they certainly did as future events showed).

The Culbertsons were famous for their stable of highly bred horses which took blue ribbons at various fairs and meets. Once a high-stepping pair of carriage horses became excited and kicked an English park carriage to pieces. This amused Madame Culbertson so greatly that she stood by laughing and clapping her hands. When the excitement started, she had stepped from her tipi, which she always set up on the lawn during the hot summer months. This unorthodox attempt to catch local breezes from the river set the Peoria population in a tizzy, and people would drive by in their carriages to get a glimpse of this exotic situation.

Meanwhile, the clouds gathering over the nation were also darkening the Culbertsons' life, who were apparently either unconscious of their deteriorating financial condition or just ignored it, for the baronial way of life still continued at Locust Grove.

The unfortunate investments which Culbertson had made in various projects promoted by his close friend Thomas Hart Benton began to cost him dearly. Also many relatives and friends had moved in to take advantage of his inexhaustable generosity. All the money he had spent on the Peoria estate, of course, brought him no returns.

Finally he was forced to execute a trust deed to a distant relative. Thomas B. McCulloch, on Locust Grove for the sum of one dollar. The arrangement provided that McCulloch would manage his property and pay the net proceeds to Culbertson for as long as he lived. In the event of his death the proceeds were to be paid to his wife and at her death to the two younger children.

By this time Alexander Culbertson was in his sixties and Natty in her forties, and things had changed on the Upper Missouri. The great American Fur Company had sold Fort Union and as the result of the great migration west, the company found its interest centered in transportation and in suitable merchandise for the immigrants.



The major, whose title was not military but one used to indicate the head of a trading post, was still a figure of importance, however, in assisting the government in its dealings with the Indians, who were being more and more pressed onto reservations.

Madame Culbertson still shared his duties and his life but as time went along there was a gradual and then a marked withdrawal. More and more Natty was with her people until most of her time was spent in the lodges of her Blood relations. As for the two boys, Jack and Joe, they found a life for themselves around the trading posts as scouts and traders. Jack died in Williston, South Dakota in the 80's and Joe in Montana in 1923.

As for Julia and Fanny, they were completely of their father's race. Julia was a distinguished leader in the cultural and social life of Boise where she had moved with her husband who was the first attorney general of that state. Fanny, the family beauty, married Louis S. Irvin in 1888 and lived in California and Montana. She died at Great Falls, Montana, February 5, 1939. Julia died at Boise on March 16, 1929. Apparently the two sisters had some misunderstanding, for they never communicated with each other in later years nor did the brothers.

The major spent the last few years of his life with Julia at Orleans, Nebraska before she moved to Idaho. He died at her house August 27, 1879 without the presence of his devoted wife who had vowed that when he died she would "die also." As a matter of fact at the time of his death she was in Canada spending the summer with her tribe.

The vibrant Natawistacha-Iskana died some time in the spring of 1893. She was buried in the Indian cemetery near the Catholic mission northeast of Standoff on the road to Cardston near the Canadian Blood Indian Reservation. She was at home at last, but she had traveled a long way.



# HEAVY COLLAR AND THE GHOST WOMAN

The Blood camp was on Old Man's River, where Fort McLeod now stands. A party of seven men started to war toward the Cypress Hills. Heavy Collar was the leader. They went around the Cypress Mountains, but found no enemies and started back toward their camp. On their homeward way, Heavy Collar used to take the lead. He would go out far ahead on the high hills, and look over the country, acting as scout for the party. At length they came to the south branch of the Saskatchewan River, above Seven Persons' Creek. In those days there were many war parties about, and this party travelled concealed as much as possible in the coulees and low places.

As they were following up the river, they saw at a distance three old bulls lying down close to a cut bank. Heavy Collar left his party, and went out to kill one of these bulls, and when he had come close to them, he shot one and killed it right there. He cut it up, and, as he was hungry, he went down into a ravine below him, to roast a piece of meat; for he had left his party a long way behind, and night was now coming on. As he was roasting the meat, he thought, --- for he was very tired, --- "It is a pity I did not bring one of my young men with me. He could go up on the hill and get some hair from that bull's head, and I could wipe out my gun." While he sat there thinking this, and talking to himself, a bunch of this hair came over him through the air, and fell on the ground right in front of him. When this happened, it frightened him a little; for he thought that perhaps some of his enemies were close by, and had thrown the bunch of hair at him. After a little while, he took the hair, and cleaned his gun and loaded it, and then sat and watched for a time. He was uneasy, and at length decided that he would go on further up the river, to see what he could discover. He went on, up the stream, until he came to the mouth of the St. Mary's River. It was now very late in the night, and he was very tired, so he crept into a large bunch of rye-grass to hide and sleep for the night.

The summer before this, the Blackfers had been camped on this bottom, and a woman had been killed in this same patch of ryegrass where Heavy Collar had lain down to rest. He did not know this, but still he seemed to be troubled that night. He could not sleep. He could always hear something, but what it was he could not make out. He tried to go to sleep, but as soon as he dozed off he kept thinking he heard something in the distance. He spent the night there, and in the morning when it became light, there he saw right beside him the skeleton of the woman who had been killed the summer before.



That morning he went on following up the stream to Belly River. All day long as he was travelling, he kept thinking about his having slept by this woman's bones. It troubled him. He could not forget it. At the same time he was very tired, because he had walked so far and had slept so little. As night came on, he crossed over to an island, and determined to camp for the night. At the upper end of the island was a large tree that had drifted down and lodged, and in a fork of this tree he built his fire, and got in a crotch of one of the forks, and sat with his back to the fire, warming himself, but all the time he was thinking about the woman he had slept beside the night before. As he sat there, all at once he heard over beyond the tree, on the other side of the fire, a sound as if something were being dragged toward him along the ground. It sounded as if a piece of a lodge were being dragged over the grass. It came closer and closer.

Heavy Collar was scared. He was afraid to turn his head and look back to see what it was that was coming. He heard the noise come up to the tree in which his fire was built, and then it stopped, and all at once he heard some one whistling a tune. He turned around and looked toward the sound, and there, sitting on the other fork of the tree, right opposite to him, was the pile of bones by which he had slept, only now all together in the shape of a skeleton. This ghost had on it a lodge covering. The string, which is tied to the pole, was fastened about the ghost's neck; the wings of the lodge stood out on either side of its head, and behind it the lodge could be seen, stretched out and fading away into the darkness. The ghost sat on the old dead limb and whistled its tune, and as it whistled, it swung its legs in time to the tune.

When Heavy Collar saw this, his heart almost melted away. At length he mustered up courage, and said: "Oh ghost, go away, and do not trouble me. I am very tired; I want to rest." The ghost paid no attention to him, but kept on whistling, swinging its legs in time to the tune. Four times he prayed to her, saying: "Oh ghost, take pity on me! Go away and leave me alone. I am tired; I want to rest." The more he prayed, the more the ghost whistled and seemed pleased, swinging her legs, and turning her head from side to side, sometimes looking down at him, and sometimes up at the stars, and all the time whistling.

When he saw that she took no notice of what he said, Heavy Collar got angry at heart, and said, "Well, ghost, you do not listen to my prayers, and I shall have to shoot you to drive you away." With that he seized his gun, and throwing it to his shoulder, shot right at the ghost. When he shot at her, she fell over backward into the darkness, screaming out: "Oh Heavy Collar,



you have shot me, you have killed me! You dog, Heavy Collar! There is no place on this earth where you can go that I will not find you; and no place where you can hide that I will not come."

As she fell back and said this, Heavy Collar sprang to his feet, and ran away as fast as he could. She called after him:
"I have been killed once, and now you are trying to kill me again. Oh Heavy Collar!" As he ran away, he could still hear her angry words following him, until at last they died away in the distance. He ran all night long, and whenever he stopped to breath and listen, he seemed to hear in the distance the echoes of her voice. All he could hear was, "Oh Heavy Collar!" and then he would rush away again. He ran until he was all tired out, and by this time it was daylight. He was now quite a long way below Fort McLeod. He was very sleepy, but dared not lie down, for he remembered that the ghost had said that she would follow him. He kept walking on for some time, and then sat down to rest, and at once fell asleep.

Before he had left his party, Heavy Collar had said to his young men: "Now remember, if any one of us should get separated from the party, let him always travel to the Belly River Buttes. There will be our meeting-place." When their leader did not return to them, the party started across the country and went toward the Belly River Buttes. Heavy Collar had followed the river up, and had gone a long distance out of his way; and when he awoke from his sleep, he too started straight for the Belly River Buttes, as he had said he would.

When his party reached the Buttes, one of them went up on top of the hill to watch. After a time, as he looked down the river, he saw two persons coming, and as they came nearer, he saw that one of them was Heavy Collar, and by his side was a woman. The watcher clled up the rest of the party, and said to them: "Here comes our chief. He has had luck. He is bringing a woman with him. If he brings her into camp, we will take her away from him." And they all laughed. They supposed that he had captured her. They went down to the camp, and sat about the fire, looking at the two people coming, and laughing among themselves at the idea of their chief bringing in a woman. When the two persons had come close, they could see that Heavy Collar was walking fast, and the woman would walk by his side a little way, trying to keep up, and then would fall behind, and then trot along to catch up to him again. Just before the pair reached camp there was a deep ravine that they had to cross. They went down into this side by side, and then Heavy Collar came up out of it alone, and came on into the camp.

When he got there, all the young men began to laugh at him and to call out, "Heavy Collar, where is your woman?" He looked



at them a moment, and then said: "Why, I have no woman. I do not understand what you are talking about." One of them said: "Oh, he has hidden her in that ravine. He was afraid to bring her into camp." Another said, "Where did you capture her, and what tribe does she belong to?" Heavy Collar looked from one to another, and said: "I think you are all crazy. I have taken no woman. What do you mean?" The young man said: "Why, that woman that you had with you just now: where did you get her, and where did you leave her? Is she down in the coulee? We all saw her, and it is no use to deny that she was with you. Come now where is she?" When they said this, Heavy Collar's heart grew very heavy, for he knew that it must have been the ghost woman; and he told them the story. Some of the young men could not believe this, and they ran down to the ravine, where they had last seen the woman. There they saw in the soft dirt the tracks made by Heavy Collar, when he went down into the ravine, but there were no other tracks near his, where they had seen the woman walking. When they found that it was a ghost that had come along with Heavy Collar, they resolved to go back to their main camp. The party had been out so long that their moccasins were all worn out, and some of them were footsore, so that they could not travel fast, but at last they came to the cut banks, and there found their camp---seven lodges.

That night, after they had reached camp, they were inviting each other to feasts. It was getting pretty late in the night, and the moon was shinning brightly, when one of the Bloods called out for Heavy Collar to come and eat with him. Heavy Collar shouted. "Yes. I will be there pretty soon." He got up and went out of the lodge, and went a little way from it, and sat down. While he was sitting there, a big bear walked out of the brush close to him. Heavy Collar felt around him for a stone to throw at the bear, so as to scare it away, for he thought it had not seen him. As he was feeling about, his hand came upon a piece of bone, and he threw this over at the bear, and hit it. Then the bear spoke, and said: "Well, well, well, Heavy Collar; you have killed me once, and now here you are hitting me. Where is there a place in this world where you can hide from me? I will find you, I don't care where you may go." When Heavy Collar heard this, he knew it was the ghost woman, and he jumped up and ran toward his lodge, calling out, "Run, run! a ghost bear is upon us!"

All the people in the camp ran to his lodge, so that it was crowded full of people. There was a big fire in the lodge, and the wind was blowing hard from the west. Men, women, and children were huddled together in the lodge, and were very much afraid of the ghost. They could hear her walking toward the lodge, grumbling, and saying: "I will kill all these dogs. Not one of them



shall get away." The sounds kept coming closer and closer, until they were right at the lodge door. Then she said, "I will smoke you to death." And as she said this, she moved the poles, so that the wings of the lodge turned toward the west, and the wind could blow in freely through the smoke hole. All this time she was threatening terrible things against them. The lodge began to get full of smoke, and the children were crying, and all were in great distress---almost suffocating. So they said, "Let us lift one man up here inside, and let him try to fix the ears, so that the lodge will get clear of smoke." They raised a man up, and he was standing on the shoulders of the others, and, blinded and half strangled by the smoke, was trying to turn the wings. While he was doing this, the ghost suddenly hit the lodge a blow, and said, "Un!" and this scared the people who were holding the man, and they jumped and let him go, and he fell down. Then the people were in despair, and said, "It is no use; she is resolved to smoke us to death." All the time the smoke was getting thicker in the lodge.

Heavy Collar said: "Is it possible that she can destroy us? Is there no one here who has some strong dream power that can overcome this ghost?"

His mother said: "I will try to do something. I am older than any of you, and I will see what I can do." So she got down her medicine bundle and painted herself, and got out a pipe and filled it and lighted it, and stuck the stem out through the lodge door, and sat there and began to pray to the ghost woman. She said: "Oh ghost, take pity on us, and go away. We have never wronged you, but you are troubling us and frightening our children. Accept what I offer you, and leave us alone."

A voice came from behind the lodge and said: "No, no, no; you dogs, I will not listen to you. Every one of you must die."

The old woman repeated her prayer: "Ghost, take pity on us. Accept this smoke and go away."

Then the ghost said: "How can you expect me to smoke, when I am way back here? Bring that pipe out here. I have no long bill to reach round the lodge." So the old woman went out of the lodge door, and reached out the stem of the pipe as far as she could reach around toward the back of the lodge. The ghost said: "No, I do not wish to go around there to where you have that pipe. If you want me to smoke it, you must bring it here." The old woman went around the lodge toward her, and the ghost woman began to back away, and said, "No, I do not smoke that kind of a pipe."



And when the ghost started away, the old womp' followed her, and she could not help herself.

She called out, "Oh my children, the ghost is carrying me off!" Heavy Collar rushed out, and called to the others, "Come, and help me take my mother from the ghost." He grasped his mother about the waist and held her, and another map took him by the waist, and another him, until they were all strung out, one behind the other, and all following the old worden, who was following the ghost woman, who was walking away.

All at once the old woman let go of the Pipe, and fell over dead. The ghost disappeared, and they were Froubled mo more by the ghost woman.

## LEGEND OF CHIEF MOUNTAIN

Many years ago a young Piegan warrior was noted for his bravery. When he grew older and more experienced in war, he became war chief of a big band of Piegan warriors.

Shortly after he became war chief, he fell in love with a girl of his tribe, and they were married. He was so fond of her that he took no other wife, and he did not go out on war parties. He was so happy with his new wife that other members of the tribe thought it unusual. When, in time, a baby boy joined them, he was happier still.

Some moons later a war party that went out from his village was almost destroyed by the enemy. Only four men came back to tell the story. The war chief was greatly troubled. He saw that if the enemy was not punished, they would raid the Piegan camp. So he gave a big war feast and asked all the young men of his band to come to it.

After they had eaten the war chief arose and addressed them in solemn tones: "Friends and brothers, you have heard the story our four young friends have told us. All the others who went out from our camp were killed by the enemy. Only these four have come back to our campfires. Those who were killed were our friends and relative. He who lives must go on the warpath. Who will go with me against the enemies who have killed our friends and brothers?"

A party of brave warriors gathered round him ready to follow their leader. His wife also was ready to go with him, but he forbade her.

"If you go without me," she replied, "you will find an empty lodge when you return."

The chief talked with her, calmed her, and finally won her consent to remain with the women and children and old men in the camping grounds at the foot of a high mountain.

Leading a big war party, the chief rode out of the village. The Piegans met the enemy and defeated them. But there was a chief killed, it was the Piegan chief.

His wife was crazy with grief. With vacant eyes she wandered everywhere, looking for her husband and calling his name. Her friends took care of her hoping that in time her mind would



become clear again. One day they could not find her in camp. Searching for her, they saw her far up on the side of the mountain above the camp. She was carrying her baby in her arms. The head man of the village sent runners after her, but from the top of the mountain she signaled that they should not try to reach her. All watched in horror as she threw her baby out over the cliff. Then she herself jumped from the mountain to the rocks far, far, below.

Her people buried her and her baby there among the rocks. From that time on the mountain that towers above the graves was known as Minnow Slakkoo, "The mountain of the chief, or "Chief Mountain."

If you look closely, you can see the figure of a woman and her child.

#### AN INDIAN STORY

This is a story about a Blackfeet named Running Fisher whose great grandsons lived here on the reservation.

One night when Running Fisher was a young warrior, Sioux Indians sneaked into the Blackfeet camp and stole most of their horses. The Sioux drove the horses as rapidly as they could back to their own camp.

When the Blackfeet found their horses were missing they were sure the Sioux were the raiders. Chief Brockie called all the braves and young warriors to a council. It was decided they were to go and take their horses from the Sioux.

Among the raiding party that was to travel into Sioux territory were Running Fisher and his brother. A battle took place in which many Blackfeet and Sioux warriors were killed. Among those killed was Running Fisher's brother. He died a brave warrior as he took three scalps before he was killed. This battle was in the fall of the year.

One night during the following winter Running Fisher had a dream during which his brother came to him and said, "Brother, come and take me home. I lie near a large hollow tree in Sioux Country." The next morning after he awoke, Running Fisher told his wife about the dream saying that it seemed so real. His wife told him it was only a dream and to forget about it. As he did not dream about it the next night or for many nights afterwards, the dream passed from his thoughts.

About a month later he experienced the same dream and he repeatedly dreamed it many nights after that. He decided it must be his brother's spirit talking to him. He told his wife that he had decided to go to Sioux country in the spring and find his brother. He asked his wife to make him many pairs of moccasins, as he would only ride horseback a short distance and walk the rest of the way. Moccasins wear out easily and he would not be able to make new ones while traveling; therefore, he needed enough to get to his brother and back to his horse.

When spring came, he started on his journey. He traveled horseback as far as he thought would be safe, here he hobbled his horse, marked the spot and started the rest of the journey on foot. After he had traveled a few miles he stopped by a stream to make camp for the night. His meal consisted of dry



meat and cold biscuits, as he couldn't make a fire because the Sioux might see the smoke and jump him.

That night he dreamed his brother spoke to him again saying: "Brother, you are getting closer every day. It will be but a short time before you come upon my remains." The next morning when he awoke, Running Fisher knew it was the spirit of his brother that had spoken to him in his dreams. He traveled all that day and during the night he dreamed that his brother spoke to him again and told him that he would reach his remains within the next day or night. The next day Running Fisher began to recognize the country. About the middle of the day he recognized the land where the battle between the Sioux and the Blackfeet took place. He had traveled far and feeling tired laid down to rest. He dreamed about seeing his brother again and that he told him his remains were just over the next hill but one arm was missing as the Sioux had cut it off and taken it.

Running Fisher found the remains of his brother, put them in a bag, and took them home with him. After he reached his home, he made a beaded buckskin bag to hold the bones. These bones were passed down through the generation of Running Fishers. It is their belief that these bones keep watch over their house.

## ORIGIN OF THE SACRED BUFFALO HORN

When my grandfather was about twelve years of age, his uncle returned one day from a buffalo hunt. It was winter and snow was falling.

"You may water the horses," the uncle said to the boy. On the way to the river and on the way back the boy was scared, for he was very timid. Seeing a buffalo's carcass along the path, he crawled into it between the ribs and slept there that night.

The next morning when he returned home, his uncle asked him why he had not come back right after watering the horses. "I just didn't come home," he answered, "that's all."

The boy himself did not know what had taken place during the night he spent in the buffalo carcass but later he realized that the spirit of the buffalo had entered his own body. After a while the boy smelled incense from a mossy weed at the base of a nearby pine tree. Then the spirit of the buffalo within him moved, and something came up from his system and out of his mouth.

It was a buffalo horn. By a sign it indicated what kind of herb should be used as incense. When the plant was brought and the incense was burned, the boy inhaled it and the horn went back into his Lody.

When the uncle saw what had happened, he rebuked the boy. "You are very foolish. You must put a stop to this nonsense."

Then the boy asked that more incense be burned. Again he inhaled it, this time the tip of the nose of the buffalo was expelled from his mouth. Then the feet, then the tail. Each came out separately. The entire buffalo was not expelled.

That night when the boy was asleep, he dreamed that he was inside a tipi and that he heard the barking of dogs and the tread of buffalo's feet coming closer and closer. After a while the sounds reached his tipi and the buffalo opened the door with the tip of his nose. "I am doing all this for your benefit my son," said the buffalo. "Look at me." The boy did not want to look at it but he did. He saw that it had been wounded. It had been pierced with arrows and with bullets, and blood was flowing down both sides. As the animal moved toward the boy, arrows and bullets dropped from its flesh. "If you will take care of my wounds now," said the buffalo, "I will make you able to heal yourself whenever you are wounded.



So the boy bound up the wounds of his visitor. When years had passed and he took part in battles and was injured, he was able to heal himself. A buffalo horn became his sacred possession.

He lived to be an old man, my grandfather did. Before he died, he gave the horn to his son, my father, whose name was Sitting Bird. It was a token of sacredness. When I became twenty-four years of age, my father passed the horn on to me. I have had it in my possession for sixty years, for I am now eighty-four years old.



## CHAPTER VI - MYTHS AND LEGENDS

Concept of Peace
Blackfoot Genesis
Writing Stone
How the Horse Came to the Blackfeet
The First Buffalo Stone
The Old Blackfoot Prophecy
The White Buffalo
The Ghost Buffalo
Napi Story
The Stick Game
The Theft From the Sun
How the Raven Got His Color



## CONCEPT OF PEACE

"Peace was a way of life, characterized by wisdom and graciousness.

"Their symbol for this Peace was a Tree, and the Tree had roots in the earth....

"Like the spires of our churches, the Great White Pine which pierces the sky and reaches the sun, lifted the thoughts of the Iroquois to the meanings of peace---the Good News which they believed the Great Spirit...had sent Deganawidah (the promulgator of the League) to impart to them.

"In general, the Tree signified the Law, that is the constitution, which expressed the terms of their union. But there were other important elements in the symbol.

"The Branches signified shelter, the protection and security that people found in union under the shadow of the Law.

"The Roots, which stretched to the four quarters of the earth, signified the extensions of the Law, the Peace, to embrace all mankind. Other nations, not yet members of the League, would see these roots as they grew outward, and if they were people of goodwill would desire to follow them to their source and take shelter with others under the Tree.

"The Eagle That Sees Afar, which Deganawidah placed on the very summit of the Tree, signified watchfulness. 'And the meaning of placing the Eagle on the top of the Tree' said Deganawidah, is to watch the Roots which extend to the North and to the South and to the East and to the West, and the Eagle will discover if evil is approaching your Confederacy, and will scream and give the alarm and come to the front.'

"'The Eagle, said Deganawidah, shall have your power. It was a reminder to his people that the best political contrivance that the wit of man can devise is impotent to keep the peace unless a watchful people stands always on guard to defend it.

"Then Deganawidah uprooted the Tree, and under it disclosed a Cavern through which ran a stream of water, passing out of sight into unknown regions under the earth. Into this current he cast the weapons of war, the hatchets and war-clubs, saying 'We here rid the earth of these things of an Evil Mind.'



"Then, replacing the Tree, 'Thus,' he said, 'shall the Great Peace be established, and hostilities shall no longer be known between the Five Nations, but peace to the United People."

## THE BLACKFOOT GENESIS

All animals of the Plains at one time heard and knew him, and all birds of the air heard and knew him. All things that he had made understood him when he spoke to them---the birds, the animals and the people.

Old Man was travelling about, south of here, making the people. He came from the south, travelling north, making animals and birds as he passed along. He made the mountains, prairies, timber, and brush first. So he went along, travelling northward making things as he went, putting rivers here and there, and falls on them, putting red paint here and there in the ground, --- fixing up the world as we see it today. He made the Milk River (The Teton) and crossed it, and being tired, went up on a little hill and lay down to rest. As he lay on his back, stretched out on the ground, with arms extended, he marked himself out with stones --- the shape of his body, head, legs, arms, and everything. There you can see those rocks today. After he had rested, he went on northward, and stumbled over a knoll and fell down on his knees. Then he said, "You are a bad things to be stumbling against;" so he raised up two large buttes there, and named them the Knees, and they are called so to this day. He went on further north, and with some of the rocks he carried with him he built the Sweet Grass Hills.

Old Man covered the plains with grass for the animals to feed He marked off a piece of ground, and in it he made to grow all kinds of roots and berries --- camas, wild carrots, wild turnips, sweet-root, bitter-root, sarvis berries, bull berries, cherries, plums, and rosebuds. He put trees in the ground. He put all kinds of animals on the ground. When he made the bighorn with its big head and horn, he made it out on the prairie. It did not seem to travel easily on the prairie; it was awkward and could not go fast. So he took it by one of its horns, and led it up into the mountains, and turned it loose; and it skipped about among the rocks and went up fearful places with ease. So he said, "This is the place that suits you; this is what you are fitted for, the rocks and the mountains." While he was in the mountains, he made the antelope out of dirt, and turned it loose, to see how it would go. It ran so fast that it fell over some rocks and hurt itself. He saw that this would not do and took the antelope down on the prairie and turned it loose; and it ran away fast and gracefully, and he said, "This is what you are suited to."

One day, Old Man determined that he would make a woman and a child; so he formed them both---the woman and the child, her son, of clay. "You must be people," and then he covered it up and left it, and went away. The next morning he went to the place and took



the covering off and saw that the clay shapes had changed a little. The second morning there was still more change, and the third still more. The fourth morning he went to the place and took the covering off, looked at the images, and told them to rise and walk; and they did so. They walked down to the river with their Maker, and then he told them that his name was Na'pi, Old Man.

As they were standing by the river, the woman said to him, "How is it? will we always live, will there be no end to it?" He said: "I have never thought of that. We will have to decide it. I will take this buffalo chip and throw it in the river. If it floats, when people die, in four days they will become alive again; they will die for only four days. But if it sinks there will be an end to them." He threw the chip into the river, and it floated. The woman turned and picked up a stone, and said: "No, I will throw this stone in the river; if it floats, we will always live, if it sinks people must die, that they may always be sorry for each other." The woman threw the stone into the water, and it sank. "There," said Old Man, "you have chosen. There will be an end to them."

It was not many nights after that the woman's child died, and she cried a great deal for it. She said to Old Man: "Let us change this. The law that you first made, let that be a law." He said: "Not so. What is made law must be law. We will undo nothing that we have done. The child is dead, but it cannot be changed. People will have to die."

That is how we came to be people. It is he who made us.

The first people were poor and naked, and did not know how to get a living. Old Man showed them the roots and berries, and told them that they could eat them; that in a certain month of the year they could peel the bark off some trees and eat it, and that it was good. He told the people that the animals should be their food and gave them to the people, saying, "These are your herds." He said: "All these little animals that live in the ground---rats, squirrels, skunks, beavers---are good to eat. You need not fear to eat of their flesh." He made all the birds that fly, and told the people that there was no harm in their flesh, that it could be eaten. The first people that he created he used to take about through the timber and swamps and over the prairies and show them the different plants. Of a certain plant he would say, "The root of this plant if gathered in a certain month of the year, is good for a certain sickness." So they learned the power of all herbs.

In those days there were buffalo. Now the people had no arms, but those black animals with long beards were armed; and once, as



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the people were moving about, the buffalo saw them, ran after them, hooked them, and killed and ate them. One day, as the Maker of the people was travelling over the country, he saw some of his children, that he had made, lying dead, torn to pieces and partly eaten by the buffalo. When he saw this he was very sad. He said: "This will not do. I will change this. The people shall eat the buffalo."

He went to some of the people who were left, and said to them, "How is it that you people do nothing to these animals that are killing you?" The people said: "What can we do? We have no way to kill these animals, while they are armed and can kill us." "That is not hard. I will make you a weapon Then said the Maker: that will kill these animals." So he went out and cut some sarvis berry-shoots, and brought them in and peeled the bark off them. He took a large piece of wood, and flattened it, and tied a string to it, and made a bow. Now, as he was the master of all birds and could do with them as he wished, he went out and caught one, and took feathers from its wing, and split them, and tied them to the shaft of wood. He tied four feathers along the shaft, and tried the arrow at a mark, and found that it did not fly well. took these feathers off, and put on three; and went out and began to break sharp pieces off the stones, He tried them, and found that the black flint stones made the best arrow points, and some white flints. Then he taught the people how to use these things.

Then he said: "The next time you go out, take these things with you and use them as I tell you, and do not run from these animals. When they run at you, as soon as they get pretty close, shoot the arrows at them, as I have taught you; and you will see that they will run from you or will run in a circle around you."

Now, as people became plenty, one day three men went out on to the plains to see the buffalo, but they had no arms. They saw the animals, but when the buffalo saw the men, they ran after them and killed two of them, but one got away. One day after this, the people went on a little hill to look about, and the buffalo saw them, and said, "Saiyah, there is some more of our food," and they rushed on them. This time the people did not run. They began to shoot at the buffalo with bows and arrows Na pi had given them, and the buffalo began to fall; but in the fight a person was killed.

At this time these people had flint knives given to them, and they cut up the bodies of the dead buffalo. It is not healthful to eat raw meat, so Old Man gathered soft dry rotten driftwood and made punk of it, and then got a piece of hard wood, and drilled a hole in it with an arrow point, and gave them a pointed piece of hard wood, and taught them how to make a fire with fire sticks, and to cook the flesh of these animals and eat it.



They got a kind of stone that was in the land, and then another harder stone and worked one upon the other, and hollowed out the softer one, and made a kettle of it. This was the fashion of their dishes.

Also Old Man said to the people: "Now, if you are over come you may go and sleep, and get power. Something will come to you in your dream, that will help you. Whatever these animals tell you to do, you must obey them, as they appear to you in your sleep. Be guided by them. If anybody wants help, if you are alone and travelling, and cry aloud for help, your prayer will be answered. It may be by the eagles, perhaps by the buffalo, or the bears. Whatever animal answers your prayer, you must listen to him."

In later times once, Na'pi said, "Here, I will mark you off a piece of ground," and he did so. Then he said: "There is your land and it is full of all kinds of animals, and many things grow in this land. Let no other people come into it. This is for you five tribes (Blackfeet, Bloods, Piegans, Gros Ventres, Sarcees). When people come to cross the line, take your bows and arrows, your lances and your battle axes, and give them battle and keep them out. If they gain a footing, trouble will come to you."

Our forefathers gave battle to all people who came to cross these lines and kept them out. Of late years we have let our friends, the white people, come in and you know the result. We, his children, have failed to obey his law.



## **LEGENDS**

Some interesting legends from the Blackfeet display their great interest and considerable knowledge in astronomy, their prophesing powers, and religious occurances.

One of these tell of a cliff near Shelby which is called the Writing Stone. It has picture writings on its surface and these tell what will happen in the future. The story of how this cliff was found and what it signifies was told by a lady who at the time of this print was 95 years old. The story has been related to her by her father:

"When a boy he went to this cliff, hoping to receive a dreamvision. For two nights he neither saw nor dreamed of anything. The third night, however, an old man appeared telling him he would get his wish to be a brave or warrior if he would remain one more night.

"He also told him that in the morning the boy would see the old man's children. The old man said, "They are the ones who make the pictures on Writing Stone and they know and will tell through the pictures what is to be.

'So the boy stayed and in the morning he looked but saw not a thing. The second time, however, he saw many small birds of all different colors. They were doing something so he sat down to watch.

'After they finished, the whole flock flew away at once. Upon looking at the cliff he saw new pictures.

'That night the old man came again and told the boy he would be a great warrior, chief of his people, and most powerful man in his tribe.

"After the boy returned home he took the name "Old Man Mandan." He was victorious in battle and became all the old man had said. He also stole as many horses in as many colors as the bird flocks.

"And so before every battle the war party went to the rock and looked. If they saw their picture they knew they would be killed."

This is the story of the Writing Stone and how its name was derived. The old lady who told this also mentioned the fact that



white people were never told of the birds but were told of angels in their place.

Also on the rock are many tepee pictures, supposedly depicting the many oil derricks in the area.



## HOW THE HORSE CAME TO THE BLACKFEET

In the long-ago time before the horse came to the Indians, life was very hard. Travel was long and difficult, and the great buffalo hunts were dangerous.

In those days lived a young Blackfoot woman who was married to one of the hunters of the tribe. The hunter was a stern man who did not understand their son and who was very harsh and cruel to him. The woman was greatly unhappy about this, and since she had no one to talk with, she would pour out her troubles to a star. She came to depend upon this star as a friend and guide.

The men of the tribe were preparing to go on a buffalo hunt, and one evening the woman went out by herself to seek consolation from her star. "Oh Spirit Star," she prayed, "help the hunters to be successful and help my husband to bring back much meats. And help him to understand our son and be kind and gentle to him."

The hunting party left, and the next day the woman, together with a friend, went out to gather wood. Her friend wandered away in her search for firewood leaving the woman alone. As she was working, there suddenly appeared before her a tall, handsome, kindeyed warrior. As she started to turn away in surprise, he spoke to her in a gentle voice. "Do not be frightened of me," he said "I am the Star Man to whom you have poured out your heart. I have watched you and I have loved you for many moons. Now I have come to take you away with me to my home in the sky. Take my hand and close your eyes, and do not open them until I tell you to."

The woman was startled to hear these words, but her life had been so unhappy and his voice was so kind that she placed her hands in his, closed her eyes, and went willingly with him to his home in the sky. Here she was very happy in her new life and bore the Star Man a fine son who grew quickly to be a strong young brave.

One day she spoke to the Star Man, saying, "As I was walking near the woods yesterday I saw a good patch of wild turnips. I think that I'll go dig some today." 'Very well," answered her husband, "but there is one turnip in the patch which you must not pick. It is larger than the rest, and you must leave it alone."

So the woman went that day to dig turnîps, and she saw the one which was larger than the others. She wanted it very much, but remembering that her husband had forbidden her to dig it, she took those which she had gathered and returned home. The following day she went back to the same place, and there she again saw the



big turnip. This time she could not overcome her curiosity, so she dug it up. When she lifted the great turnip out of the ground its root went so deep that it made a hole in the sky. Looking down through the hole, she could see her people, the Blackfeet, as they went about their daily tasks. A great wave of homesickness came over her, and she started to wonder about her first-born son, and she sat down in the turnip patch and cried for her people.

When she went back to her tepee that night, the Star Man saw that she had been crying and knew what had happened. "I know that you miss your people and long to be with them, Earth-Woman Wife," he said to her. "And that is where you should be. Take our son and go back to the Blackfeet, and I shall live alone in the sky forever."

Saying this, he took a great buffalo hide and cut it into many long strips. He tied the strips together to make a rope and, through the hole in the sky where the great turnip had been, he lowered the rope until it touched the ground. The woman bade the Star Man good-bye and, taking her son, went down the rope toward the earth. As the two were descending from the sky a small boy on the earth saw them. He ran as quickly as he could to his mother, shouting, "Look, people are coming down from the sky!" But his mother did not believe him, and told him to run away and play. He told everyone he saw about this wonderful thing, but they all laughed at him and turned aside. Finally an old man looked to see where the boy was pointing, and he too saw the Earth-Woman Wife returning to the Blackfeet, together with the son of her flesh and of the Star Man.

All the people gathered to welcome her. As she came close to the ground she bade them scatter sweetgrass on the earth before she touched it so that no spirit would come with her from the sky. When this was done, the woman came safely to the ground and greeted her first-born with great joy.

The husband, however, had not changed in his ways and was still very cruel to his own son. The woman's second son, son of the Star Man, took charge of his older half-brother and provided him with food, and the two boys came to be very good friends and spent all of their time together.

One day while the two boys were in the woods, they became separated. The Star Man, who was very lonely in his lodge in the sky, appeared to the older brother. "I am the Star Man; I am the father of your younger brother," he said. "I am very lonesome in the sky. It is right that your mother live with her people here, but I want my son to be with me. Will you let me take him away so that a father



can be with his son?" "I cannot do that," the first-son replied.
"He is my friend and we share all things together. We will never
part." "I know how you feel," the Star Man said. "But I will
give you something in return. I will make you and your people
masters of a great animal. It will be as large as a buffalo and
as fleet as a deer. You can ride upon its back and hunt game
and you can use it to carry your burdens. You will be able to
catch much meat, and this animal, the horse, will be my great gift
to the Blackfeet."

The older son thought carefully about it. It would be a great thing for his people, and a father whose wife had been taken away should have his son with him to comfort him. "All right," he agreed. "You may take your son who is my half-brother and whom I love very much if you give me this wonderful animal."

"Good!" the Star Man said. "Here is what you must do. Tomorrow morning before daybreak, a beautiful palomino mare will
come up out of the lake. You must take along rope and capture
her. She will fight to get free, but you must not let her go.
She is the leader of the horses, and if you keep her all the others will follow. If you do this, the Blackfeet will always have
horses."

So the Star Man took his son back up into the sky, and early the next morning the older son was waiting at the lake. Out of the water came a beautiful palomino mare, and the youth threw the rope over the head of the mare as he had been told to do. She fought the rope desperately and it was all that the youth could do to hold her. But finally she grew tired, and the young Indian went to her and put his hand upon her, and she was quiet under his touch.

As soon as she was touched by the youth, all the other horses came out of the lake and followed the older brother and the palomino mare back to the village. The whole village was filled with joy and wonder at the appearance of these wonderful animals, and they soon grew to love them and to depend greatly upon them. And that is how the Star Man gave the first horse to the Blackfeet.

## THE FIRST BUFFALO STONE

The Sacred Buffalo Stone, or Iniskim, is the most common medicine object of the Blackfeet. It is usually a fossil shell, picked up on the prairie, and highly prized by its owner. Some of these stones bear remarkable resemblance to animals. In the old days the Buffalo Stone was used in the ritual for calling buffalo.

It is said to call attention to itself on the prairie, by making a faint chirp such as a bird might make.

One time long ago, before we had houses, the buffalo suddenly disappeared. So many hunters killed elk, deer, and smaller game along the river bottoms. When all of them were either killed or driven away, the people began to starve. They were camped in a circle near a buffalo drive.

Among them was a very poor woman, the second wife of her husband. Her buffalo robe was old and full of holes; her moccasins were old and ripped.

While gathering wood for the fire one day, she thought she heard someone singing. The song seemed close, but when she looked around she could see no one.

Following the sound and looking closely, she found a small rock that was singing. "Take me! I am a great power. Take me! I am of great power."

When the woman picked up the rock, it told her what to do and taught her a special song. She told her husband her experience and then said, "Call all the men together and ask them to sing this song that will call the Buffalo back."

"Are you in earnest?" asked her husband. "Yes, I am. First get me a small piece of the back of a buffalo from the Bear-Med-icine Man."

Then she told her husband how to arrange the inside of the lodge in a kind of square box with some sage brush and buffalo chips. "Now tell the men to come and ask them for the four rattles they use."

It is a custom for the first wife to sit close to her husband in their lodge; but this time, the husband told the second to put on the first wife's clothes and sit beside him.



After all the men were seated in the lodge, the buffalo stone began to sing, "The buffalo will all drift back. The buffalo will all drift back."

Then the woman said to all of the younger men, "Go beyond the drive and put a lot of buffalo chips in line. Then all of you are to wave at the chips with a buffalo robe, four times, while you should sing a song. The fourth time you shout, all the chips will turn into buffalo and all will go over the cliff.

The men followed her directions, and the woman led the singing in the lodge. She knew that the cow buffalo would take the lead. While the woman was singing a song about the leader who would lead her followers over the cliff, all the buffalo went over the cliff and were killed.

Then the woman sang a different song: "I have made more than a hundred buffalo fall over the cliff, and the man above hears me."

After that time, the people took good care of a buffalo stone and prayed to it, for they knew that it was very powerful.

## THE PROPHECY OF THE OLD BLACKFEET

Sometime after 1700 the Blackfeet were camped in Prickly Pear Valley, a few miles north of where the city of Helena now stands. They had about seven hundred tipis all together, each clan having its own section of the camp.

One morning the people were awakened by the shouts of an old man who was greatly respected, not only for his bravery in battle, but also for his kind deeds. He was known then as Moving-Another-Place. On this morning he was going from clan to clan and calling out all the minor chiefs. "I want to tell you a strange vision I have had," he said. On his arms he carried the robe he had slept on and on his face were signs of emotion and excitement.

To the chiefs he related what had been said to him in his visions. "Our way of living, our customs, and our freedom will die; with this generation will come that will wear clothing different from ours. Half of their clothing will be buckskin, and half will be made from the hair of sheep and goats. The mens fingers will explode and all our wild game will be killed."

"That generation of people will die. Then there will come a new group of people who will have no chiefs. All the men will want to be chiefs, but there will be no one with authority. Our child-ren will live in square-like structures and will sit on the branches of trees."

"That generation also will die. Other people will come who will do even stranger things. In time they will no longer need our horses for large black beetles will carry them rapidly, wherever they wish to go. They will wear buckskin clothing and will cut the earth into small pieces for each one. The people will become more and more skillful. They will remember the good times of their fathers, but they will have more knowledge. They will be able to watch the chief geese flying across the sky."

The prophecy of this old leader has come true. The early traders and trappers changed the style of clothing. Our manner of living changed from tipis to houses. The firearms brought by the white man killed off the buffaloes and the smaller game animals. Soon the Indians' form of government broke down. The black beetles are the automobiles and the chief geese flying across the sky are the airplanes.



#### THE WHITE BUFFALO

This is a true story of the superstition of the early Indian. It was carefully studied by the early trappers and explorers. This story follows and is accurately based on history. The only addition being a human setting for the events.

Andy Burnett, Joe Crane, and Bill Kelly were heading for the land of the Blackfoot Indians to do their fall trapping. Before they left the rest of the trappers, they invited some of them to go along.

"No thanks," was the answer. "You kin have the whole of the Blackfoot Kentry! We wants to keep our hair."

Andy was younger and more inexperienced than Joe and Bill. He was worried when he found that the other mountain men were afraid to trap in the country belonging to the Blackfoot Indians.

"Are we really in great danger of being scalped?" He asked.
"Beaver skins won't do us much good if we're dead."

Joe, a seasoned trapper, looked at Andy a little scornfully. "Blackfoot Indians is hostile," Joe said seriously. "They ain't any love in their hearts for the whites. If they have the chance they'll scalp ya, no matter what ya done or ain't done. But there's good beaver trappin' in the Blackfoot country.

"Bill and me, we're goin' to trap there this fall,"
ued, "and we'll try darned hard not to lose our hair. But er we
lose it---we lose it, that's all. Now you kin come with us ef ya
want to, er yo kin go with the rest of the bunch into safer lands.
It's all up to you."

"I'm going with you!" Andy declared, a little angry that Joe had thought him afraid to go into Blackfoot country.

"I knew you had the makin's," Joe said, giving Andy one of his broad, comical smiles.

After leaving the other trappers, the three partners traveled slowly and cautiously along the edge of the mountains. Every care was taken that they might not be discovered by Blackfeet. Below the top of the ridge they halted. Either Kelly or Joe, covered with a wolf skin, crawled to the top of the ridge to look for Indians. If it was safe to go on, the one on the ridge signaled to the other two to advance.



For weeks the trappers journeyed through thick brush, over cliffs, and down steep passes. Andy thought this was foolish. They could just as well have traveled on the open prairie. It would have been much easier. But Kelly and Joe were horrified when he suggested it.

"Ride out there in the open where any Blackfoot Indian can see you? I should say not!" cried Kelly. "I think too much of my scalp to be riskin' it like that."

So they traveled on, making a little progress each day. Sometimes they had to blindfold the horses and swing them over steep cliffs with ropes. Andy grew tired walking. He was tired of urging the horses through dangerous places. The thin air made him pant for breath. Would they never stop?

Finally the wanders found themselves in a beautiful valley. It was a small valley, scarcely three miles wide. On all sides it was fenced in by lofty ranges of mountains. It was green and fertile with many little bubbling creeks flowing into it from the mountains. The creeks flowed into a rather large river that poured itself into a lake at the southern end of the valley.

"Here's where we camp," Joe exclaimed. "Did ya ever see anything so purty? I'm willin' to bet my moccasins that there's plenty of beaver in them streams."

They found and examined all possible ways in and out. They looked carefully for signs of Indians, but they found none. As for beaver, the streams were full of them, and there were will animals of all sorts, including deer, elk, and buffalo. These would furnish them with food as long as they wanted to stay. The trappers could have asked for nothing better. Here was food, beaver trapping, plenty to eat, and a beautiful place to build their shack. The men were delighted.

"Burnett's Hole, we'll call it!" Joe exclaimed. Andy was pleased to have the beautiful valley named after him. The men decided to set up camp in a group of slim, straight, aspen trees near the shore of the lake. Hacking down logs, they built a rude cabin. When the hut was finished, they started trapping beaver in the streams.

"Now the fun begins," thought Andy. But it was work too.
Often the ground was covered with white frost when the men went
out at dawn to empty and reset the traps, and they were wet to



their hips by the time they were through. They still had a days work ahead of them after that. The beaver had to be skinned and the furs fleshed, dried, and squeezed into packs.

Andy had no time to fish, hunt and explore the valley as he would have liked to do. He was a trapper now and it took all his time to tend to his beaver. Never before had he or his companions seen so many beaver. They were getting far more furs than they had hoped for.

The men trapped until snow and ice blocked all the exits to the valley. Then they shut themselves in their rough hut to spend the winter. There was plenty to do while blizzards howled outdoors. They tanned the hides of the buffalo they had killed and made themselves leggins and moccasins. "Squaw work," Joe called it, because they dressed the skins and made the clothing just as the Indian squaws did.

Andy did "squaw work" all winter. In fact, he grew tired of making moccasins and leggins. He was glad when spring came and he could go outside. Then he took his long rifle and wandered up and down the river. He was looking for tracks in the snow that would show that the wild game had returned to the valley.

One day he saw a small herd of buffalo just returned from winter ranges. Fresh buffalo meat! Andy could taste it already! He set out to kill a nice, fat cow, but as he drew near the herd a fog of frost crystals hid the buffalo from sight. Though he could not see the animals, Andy kept on in the same direction. After a while he blundered straight onto one of the herd. It looked at him as a ghost in the fog. At Andy's shot, it sank to its knees and rolled over an its side.

Andy thought at that the dead buffalo's heavy coat had been frosted over by the fog. He soon found, however, that he had shot a white buffalo cow, one of the rarest of all animals. Many men lived in the buffalo country all their lives without seeing a white buffalo. For some time Andy gazed at his strange prize. In the meantime the fog lifted. When Andy looked up, he saw a small group of mounted Indians less than fifty yards away. They were watching him closely.

Andy's heart sank like lead. His rifle was empty, and the Indians knew it. Eight Blackfoot warriors! What would they do to him?

The warmiors seized and bound his arms behind his back. He was not going to be killed outright. He was probably going to



be tortured first. Two of the Indians lifted him across a horses back. At that moment, one of the band raised a cry. He had just discovered the white buffalo, dead in the snow. The Indians left Andy and went to examine the unusual beast.

They were greatly excited over the strange, white buffalo. Andy saw that they were taking their best clothes from the bags hanging at their saddles. In a short time they were gayly dressed in feathers and paint. Some one started a fire of sweet grass. In the smoke from the tiny fire the chief washed his hands. Then with his hunting knife he cut out the tongue of the dead buffalo and held it up toward the sun. Several of the warriors then clean-sed their hands in the smoke of the fire and skinned the buffalo. When they were through, they rolled the skin into a bundle. The chief of the tribe stood above the buffalo, arms upward, and said: "Oh Sun! I give her to you. Take her. She is yours."

It was all very strange to Andy. He was even more surprised when the chief untied his hands and gave him back his rifle and, in sign language, told him to mount a horse. The warriors gathered about him and started marching down the valley. Andy rode, but the rest of them walked. All the way the Indians chanted in low voices. The chief, marching ahead, carried the buffalo tongue on the point of his spear.

When they got within sight of camp Andy saw that the little hut was overflowing with Blackfeet. Indians were everywhere, but Andy could see nothing of Joe and Bill. The old chief shook the spear on which he carried the buffalo tongue and shouted something. The warriors who had come with Andy continued to chant, and soon, those around the hut joined in. When the warriors started unpacking the skin of the white buffalo, all the Indians gathered about them, and Andy was left alone and unguarded.

He finally caught sight of Joe and Bill, sitting side by side their backs against the wall of the hut. Andy ran to them. For an instant Joe's eyes shone. He was greatly relieved to see Andy alive. "Well," he drawled, "what you doin' walkin' around with a gun in your hands? Don't you know it ain't polite when you got visitors? Look at Bill and me, we ain't got guns."

"What happened?" asked Andy.

"Nothin'," Joe declared. "One minute there was me and Bill; next minute there was all of us."

Andy was worrie to "What will they do to us?"



"Several things," Joe replied. "The fun will begin later, and the crownin' event will be when we lose our hair. Listen, bub, you got a rifle. Let's slip out while them Injuns are busy. We might get away."

"The rifle's no good," Andy said in a discouraged way. "It isn't loaded, and I haven't any powder or lead."

"That settles that!" Joe leaned back against the wall:

"How did they come to get you?" Kelly asked Andy.

"I had shot a white buffalo in the fog. When the fog lifted, there were the Indians, and my rifle was empty!"

As the three men talked, the chief of the tribe approached them. He was followed by half a dozen of the most important members of the band. The chief began to talk to the white men in sign language. The men watched closely.

The chief told them that the white buffalo was a sacred animal. "It belonged to the sun," he said: "He who killed such an animal was also sacred, and the whole tribe to which that man belonged was sacred, and the tolls of that man was sacred." Therefore, because Andy had killed the white buffalo, he was a god. They would make him a member of the Blackfeet tribe, so that the whole tribe would be honored. Having said this, the chief and his followers left quickly.

Andy and his friends had not hoped to escape death so easily. Andy thanked his lucky starts that he had shot a white buffalo.

"It saved our hair," Joe exclaimed, after the Indians were gone. "Andy here made himself a genuine god. An' yo saw what the old boy said: 'its ketchin' to the whole tribe.' Ain't we Andy's tribe?"

The Indians had left the white men alone and unguarded. They had also left them their hair, but they had forgotten to leave them anything to eat.

"I suppose they got an idea gods don't git hungry," Joe grumbled. "Well this one does!" But Andy and Bill were too glad to be alive to think of hunger yet.



## THE GHOSTS' BUFFALO

A long time ago there were four Blackfeet, who went to war against the Crees. They travelled a long way, and at last their horses gave out, and they started back toward their homes. As they were going along they came to the Sand Hills; and while they were passing through them, they saw in the sand a fresh travois trail. where people had been travelling.

One of the men said: "Let us follow this trail until we come up with some of our people. Then we will camp with them." They followed the trail for a long way, and at length one of the Blackfeet, named E-kus-kini---a very powerful person, ---said to the others: "Why follow this longer? It is just nothing." The others said: "Not so. These are our people. We will go on and camp with them." They went on, and toward evening, one of them found a stone maul and a dog travois. He said: "Look at these things. I know this maul and this travois. They belonged to my mother, who died. They were buried with her. This is strange." He took the things. When night overtook the men, they camped.

Early in the morning, they heard, all about them, sounds as if a camp of people were there. They heard a young man shouting a sort of war cry, as young men do; women chopping wood; a man calling for a feast, asking people to come to his lodge and smoke, all the different sounds of the camp. They looked about, but could see nothing; and then they were frightened and covered their heads with their robes. At last they took courage, and started to look around and see what they could learn about this strange thing. For a little while they saw nothing, but pretty soon one of them said: "Look over there. See that pis-kun. Let us go over and look at it." As they were going toward it, one of them picked up a stone pointed arrow. He said: "Look at this. It belonged to my father. This is his place." They started to go on toward the pis-kun, but suddenly they could see no pis-kun. It had disappeared all at once.

A little while after this, one of them spoke up, and said:
"Look over there. There is my father running buffalo. There! he has killed. Let us go over to him." They all looked where this man pointed, and they could see a person on a white horse, running buffalo. While they were looking, the person killed the buffalo, and got off his horse to butcher it. They started to go over toward him, and saw him at work butchering, and saw him turn the buffalo over on its back; but before they got to the place where he was, the person got on his horse and rode off, and when they got to where he had been skinning the buffalo, they saw lying on the



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ground only a dead mouse. There was no buffalo there. By the side of the mouse was a buffalo chip, and lying on it was an arrow, painted red. The man said: "That is my father's arrow. That is the way he painted them." He took it up in his hands; and when he held it in his hands, he saw that it was not an arrow but a blade of spear grass. Then he laid it down, and it was an arrow again.

Another Blackfoot found a buffalo rock, I-nis'kim.

Some time after this, the men got home to their camp. The man who had taken the maul and the dog travois, when he got home and smelled the smoke from the fire, died, and so did his horse. It seems that the shadow of the person who owned the things was angry at him and followed him home. Two others of these Blackfeet have sinced died, killed in war; but E-kus-kini is alive yet. He took a stone and an iron arrow point that had belonged to his father, and always carried them about with him. That is why he has lived so long. The man who took the stone arrow point found near the pis-kun, which had belonged to his father, took it home with him. This was his medicine. After that he was badly wounded in two fights, but he was not killed; he got well.

The one who took the buffalo rock, I-nis-kim, it afterwards made strong to call the buffalo into the pis-kun. He would take the rock and put it in his lodge close to the fire, where he could look at it, and would pray over it and make medicine. Sometimes he would ask for a hundred buffalo to jump into the pis-kun, and the next day a hundred would jump in. He was powerful.

## NAPI STORY

One day Old Napi was trudging across the plains and he hadn't been finding much food. Then he saw a bobcat. The bobcat had been catching a lot of gophers and on this day he was cooking them to a nice crispy brown and laying them on flat rocks all around to cool. They smelled delicious and the warm fat was running off. The old man came up and begged to eat and sleep with the bobcat. The bobcat gave him two gophers and told him he could sleep with him. Napi was very greedy so he just pretended to sleep until his host went to sleep. Then he got up and ate every last one of the gophers and ran off.

The next night while Napi was sleeping the bobcat caught up with him and stole his buckskin breech-cloth. The next day Napi found an old rotten piece of buffalo hide. He fashioned it into a rude breech-clout, but it didn't work very well. The hide was stiff and hairy and stuck way out. This made him look like a pretty evil creature. Every time he tried to approach any people to beg for food, they ran away. Pretty soon Napi was almost starved to death. Finally, he fell down and passed out. He was found by members of a hunting party from another tribe. They fed him and gave him a new buckskin breech-clout. Let this be a lesson to you, never to steal again from your host.



# THE STICK GAME AND WHY THE BLACKFEET DON'T KILL MICE

My Grandma told me a story about Napi. Napi was a wicked old man. He lied, stole and did many wicked things. He was the leader of all the animal people.

One day the bear and the beaver were arguing about who would reign under Napi. Every night the animal people gathered around the fire and argued about how they should choose the leader. Some animals said it should be done by braveness, others said by wiseness.

Old Man finally heard about the commotion and called all the animal people together. He then pulled from his pouch a bone and began to sing his war chant, passing the bone from hand to hand very swiftly. After awhile he stopped and asked the beaver to guess in which hand he held the bone. The beaver pointed to the right hand. Everyone laughed at this. Old Man opened his hand and showed the beaver his empty hand. Old Man began his dance and song again passing the bone from hand to hand. This time he asked the bear to choose the hand with the bone in it. The bear pointed to the left that it was empty. The animal people really laughed this time. Now the people began to play the game. The buffalo being very big and slow was awkward in passing the bone. The buffalo had challenged the mouse to reign under old man. The mouse being small was skilled at the game and beat the buffalo.

After beating the buffalo many times the mouse got up before the animal people and told them that he was too small for battle and that he was not as wise as Old Man and he said, "Let Old Man be our leader for he is very wise." After this the people did not kill any mice.



## THE THEFT FROM THE SUN

Once Old Man was travelling around when he came to the Sun's lodge and the Sun asked him to stay a while. Old Man was very glad to do so.

One day the meat was all gone, and the Sun said: "Kyi! Old Man, what say you if we go and kill some deer?"

"You speak well," replied Old Man. "I like deer meat."

The Sun took down a bag and pulled out a beautiful pair of leggings. They were embroidered with porcupine quills and bright feathers. "These," said the Sun, "are my leggings. They are great medicine. All I have to do is to put them on and walk around a patch of brush, when the leggings set it on fire and drive the deer out so that I can shoot them."

"Hai-yah!" exclaimed Old Man. "How wonderful!" He made up his mind he would have those leggings, if he had to steal them.

They went out to hunt, and the first patch of brush they came to, the Sun set on fire with his hunting leggings. A lot of white-tail deer ran out, and they each shot one.

That night, when they went to bed, the Sun pulled off his leggings and placed them to one side. Old Man saw where he put them, and in the middle of the night, when everyone was asleep, he stole them and went off. He travelled a long time, until he had gone far and was very tired, and then he heard someone talking. The Sun was saying, "Old Man, why are my leggings under your head?" He looked around, saw he was in the Sun's lodge, and thought he must have wandered around and got lost, and returned there. Again the Sun spoke and said, "What are you doing with my leggings?' "Oh," replied Old Man, "I couldn't find anything for a pillow, so I just put these under my head."

Night came again, and again Old Man stole the leggings and ran off. This time he did not walk at all; he just kept running until pretty near morning and then lay down and slept. You see what a fool he was. He did not know that the whole world is the Sun's lodge. But this time the Sun said: "Old Man, since you like my leggings so much, I will give them to you. Keep them." Then Old Man was very glad and went away.

One day his food was all gone, so he put on the medicine leggings and set fire to a piece of brush. He was just going to kill



some deer that were running out, when he saw that the fire was getting closer. He ran away as fast as he could, but the fire gained on him and began to burn his legs. His leggings were all on fire. He came to a river and jumped in, and pulled off the leggings as soon as he could. They were all burned to pieces.

Perhaps the Sun did this to him because he tried to steal the leggings.

#### HOW THE RAVEN GOT HIS COLOR

Many years ago the Blackfeet were short of food because there was no game. The chief sent for Napi, creator of all things. After Napi arrived the chief told him of their hardships. Napi said that he would look for the trouble the next morning.

Early the next day Napi and the chief's son started out to see whŷ there was no game to be found. They travelled for many days without finding a trace of game.

One day they came to a cave full of buffalo, deer, and elk; but before they could drive the animals out, a woman and child came from a lodge on a hill over the cave. Napi changed himself into a dog and his companion into a stick. They followed the woman and child into the forest. The woman noticed the stick and thought it would be a good stick to dig roots, the boy asked to keep the dog and his mother said "yes."

Later, they all went to their lodge but when they arrived there, the woman's husband said they would have to get rid of the dog and the stick as they were evil looking.

That night the dog and stick went to the cave. Napi changed them back to their original form to chase the game out of the cave. Then Napi changed himself and the boy back to the shape of a dog and a stick. The man in the lodge heard the dog barking and came to see what was happening. He was going to kill the dog and break the stick. The stick rolled up in the hair of a buffalo and escaped. The dog got away also. The dog chased the buffalo toward the village of the Blackfeet. Napi changed himself and the boy to their human forms. Then they went to the village to inform the people of the game. The men of the tribe went down to the river near the buffalo trap. They tried to chase the buffalo into the trap, but the old man on the hill had changed himself into a big white bird and scared the buffalo away.

The Blackfeet tried again and again to drive the buffalo into the trap but couldn't succeed. Napi caught the bird and tied it to a birch over a smudge fire and left him there until he begged for mercy. That is supposed to be the way the raven got its color.



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# CHAPTER VII - CONCLUSION

Questions and Answers
Indian Values
Popular Fallacies
American State Names
Did the Indian Live in Vain?
Indian and the Law
Who Holds Title to an Indian Reservation?
Civil Rights
Constitution and By-Laws



# QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The following questions are frequently asked:

- Why are Indian men beardless?

  They have sparse face hair, but the practice was to pull out the hairs. Body hair which was scant was usually pulled out also.
- When and where did the Indians come to America?
  Across eastern Siberia, through Alaska. They are a branch of
  the Mongolian stem of humanity. The time estimates for first
  arrival in force are from ten to twenty-five thousand years
  ago.
- Is there more than one Indian language?
  Yes. In historic times there were fifty families of languages in the United States, of which six are now extinct. Approximately 250 languages and dialects are still spoken and about thirty have become extinct since white contact. The number of independent tribes in 1492 is difficult to estimate, but certainly exceeded two thousand, of which more than three hundred survive.
- How do the Indians get their names?

  There are many tribal differences in naming customs, but in no case were family names given, each name being individual, as Keokuk, Pontiac, etc. White people try to translate Indian names into English, but the Indian rarely thought of the meaning of the word. When white people say, "Mr. Wolf" they do not think of a wolf. When a child was to be named, a prominent Indian was called in to confer the name. The usual procedure was to select the name of a deceased Indian, but if named after a living Indian, the name would be changed slightly; for instance, White Calf might become Little Calf, Big Calf, etc.
- Do all Indians have straight black hair? Are they bald?

  Their hair is almost uniformly glossy black and straight. Bald heads are all but unknown.
- Are the Indians longer-lived than white people?

  Probably not. In the census of 1930, white people over sixtyfive years of age numbered twenty-two per thousand in the total
  population: Indians, twenty-eight per thousand. While this
  shows a small difference, the age for Indians are less accurate
  than for whites.



Are the Indians dying off:
No. For many years they have been increasing. A few tribes are decliming, however.

Face paint was general; the prevailing color, red. Women frequent's painted the part in the hair with vermilion.

Do Indian have fixed forms?

Yes. The deps are often complicated and difficult to learn.

Original men and women danced separately and with different some forms of white man's dancing were introduced in which and woman danced together. The forms are still obsertiualistic dances, but the latter are purely social.

Were the medic amen fakers?

This is six contact to answer. They seemed to believe they had pot so combat disease, but when they resorted to sleight of ham loke, they were conscious of deception.

Did all India bury their dead?

If the we a of the United States is considered, the following methods disposing of the corpse should be listed: flexed burial, burial, extended burial, cremation with urn burial, burial, scaffold burial, bone burial, dance burial, house because, and burial in the water. As a rule each tribe tolerate eseveral forms of burial.

No. Imdian seems to have possessed arbitrary absolute power.
The willage or camp was ruled by a council in which all the older participated and, to a limited extent, the women. The came is usually recognized one of its number as the leader and frequently looked to him to see that its rulings were entraced. A good deal of prestige went with his position, especially if he was an able leader. In a federation, or even it a union of several villages or bands, the chiefs of those formed a council for the whole, one of their number becoming the head chief.

Did all the geometric designs upon baskets, bags and cloth have meanings?

No. Most of the true symbolism in Indian art was realistic and not geometric. The textiles and pottery designs were the work of women; rarely did they draw pictues. Many of the geo-

metric designs on baskets and beadwork had names so that they could be talked about, as teepee-pattern, tree, religious ideas, prayers or wishes for good luck. However, they were sometimes used in that way. The only way to know about this is to have information from the woman who made them. So, in general, most of the time the designs are strictly ornamental, but occasionally they are used symbolically.

#### INDIAN VALUES

### Time is Unimportant:

Time is a very relative thing. Clocks are not watched. One coses things as they are needed to be done. Often the family sets up as the sun rises and retires soon after the sun sets. "Indian Time" means when everyone gets there. A community meeting can be set for 1 p.m. and people will come as near that time as they wish. So the meeting actually may begin as hour or two later, and this bothers no one.

# Today Comcept:

Immian people generally live each day as it comes. Plans for tomorrow often are left until the future becomes the present.

#### Patience:

To have much patience and to wait is considered to be a good quality.

#### Shame:

The Indian groups often shame an individual, but once this is over no guil feeling is held by the individual.

#### Extended Family:

Aunts often are considered to be mothers. Uncles are called fathers, and cousins are browners and sisters of the immediate family. Even clan members are considered relatives; so Indian cultures consider many more individuals to be relatives than do non-Indians.

#### Age:

Respect is for the elders. Experience is felt to bring knowledge. So the older one is the more knowledgeable. No effort is made to conceal white hair or other signs of age.

# Few Material Things:

Members of the tribe often are suspicious of individuals who collect many material possessions. Some tribes even hold celebrations and give away most of their possessions to others as "love gifts." The Sioux enjoy such a practice.

#### Giving:

The respected member of many Indian cultures is the one who shares and gives all his wealth to others.



Man Lives in Perfect Balance With Nature:

The earth is here to enjoy. If man accepts this world as it is and lives as he should with it, there will not be sickness or lack of food.



#### POPULAR MALLACIES ABOUT THE INDIAN

Since Columnus first stepped ashore on the new continent believing it to be Asia, and the aborigines of the new land to be "Indians" of India, fallacies about these first Americans have been numerous.

The origin of the Indian is the of the most popular fallacies. One theory is that the Indians were descendents of the Lost Tribes of Israel. In 1505 Father Duran stated explicitly that, "These natives are of the ten tribes of Israel that Shalmaneser, King of the Assurian, made prisoners and married to Assyria." In 1641 Antonic de Montazimos while journe ving in South America stated that he met savages who followed Jerish practices. The Mormons are marnest supporters of the Hebrew origin. However, according to anthropology, the Hebrews and the Indians have no possical characteristics in common as the two races belong the entirely distinct types.

a less widespread theory is that of a tribe of Welsh Indians. This was first printed in Lloyd's Eistory of Combrie. In 1170 Prince Modoc of Wales sailed westward and discovered a new land. The returned to Wales and fitted out a second squadron which sailad away and was never heard from again. In 1740 a story was printed in the "Gentleman's Magazine" about a Reverend Morgan Jones who told that while a prisoner of the Tuscarora of North Carolina he was praying in his own language. When the Indians heard him they set him free, saying the Welsh language was the same as their own. In 1768 Reverend Charles Beatty enlarged on the mory by giving the Tuscamora a Welsh bible even though they coul not read it. In 1764 another Welshman named Griffiin had beer captured by the Shawnee and he claimed these Indians spoke the weelsh language. In mis journal of 1774 Dawid Jones attempted to give examples of Welsh identities among the Indians of the Ohic valley. He attempted to identify the "Welst Indian" tribe with the Tottoway, Croatan, Modoc, Mesti (Hopi) Eadouca (Comanche), Pawnee, Kansa, Oto and the Mandian. The noted traveler Catlin devoted a whole chapter of his works to these Mandan Indians. Many of them had very fair skins, light hair and hime eyes. Indians have also been said to be derived from the Greeks, Chimese, Japanese, Phoenicians, Irish, Polymesians, and ewen the matives of Australia.

Language is another fallecy. The Indian had warious languages so different from any European speech in sound and structure and even character that the early settlers believed all Indian language to be the same and little more than gibberish. The Indian linguistic families embrace a flexible grammatical method which shows the vance of the Indian languages.



It are believed that all Indians were nomadic, but before the arrival of the white man most Incians had a fixed place of abode. Every tribe, wim few exceptions, laid claim to and dwelt within the limits of certain tracts or regions. The boundaries were well understock and were handed down by tradition and not ordinarily relinquisted except by superior force. Same tribes had debatable areas, owned by mone but claimed by all. This often caused disputes and inter-tribal wars. Most of the tibes east of the Mississippi River, except a few in the north and mome in the west, were agricultural people and depended on their food from the tillage of the land. During the hunting season such tribes might follow game, but only in the most restricted sense could they be called nomadic. The Plains Indians were tillers of the soil before they were pushed westward. After the arrival of the horse they did wander far in search of the buffalo. They seemed to have no fixed boundary, yet each tribe possessed some idea as to the extent of their can territory as well as that of their neighbors.

The position of women was often misunderstood. Many historians picture the life of the Indian woman as one of drudgery, almost that of a slawe, while the husband idled away most of his time. The Indian woman did take care of the home, the cooking, preparing the skins, making the pottery and baskets and in agricultural tribes worked in the fields. However, the women had the help of the old men of the tribe and of the children. In tribes where there were slaves, they did the work. Often Indian men had more than one wife and the work was divided between them. The Indian woman found much time to gossip and play women's games.

As in any society food was always a problem. This was the full responsibility of the men of the tribe. They had to hunt, fish and do the trapping. It was up to them to bring home the food = well as get it, and his was toilsome and often dangerous. In most tribes the men had to mean the game and get it ready for cooking. The men went to war, and tribal superstition made it necessary imr them to make most of their own wempons. They made their own ceremonial clothes and in many tribes even made the clothes of their wires. To the men went the job of training the young boys. The men had to make and administer the laws, conduct the treaties and the general regulation of mibal affairs. Men were in charge of all ceremonial occasions and most of the religious rites. They had the task of memorizing all the tribal records and treaties as well as all the rituals. This often took astonishing feats of memory. Should the tribe have any kind of pictograph record it was the men who usually middle these.

There were myths about giant races of men or pigmies among the American Indian. The tale of an ancient race of pigmies started with the finding of numerous small stone coffins or cists, early in



the nineteenth century, in Tennessee. These cists contained skeletons, the largest measuring 24 inches long by 9 inches deep. The small size was assumed to be proof of the existence of a race of dwarfs. In many cases the skeletons found were those of children. Many of the adult skeletons were deprived of flesh, a common Indian mortuary custom, then disjointed so the boxes could be packed into a very small space. The race of dwarfs have been ascribed also in the region around New Mexico and Arizona in the cliff dwelling region. Many shriveled and shrunken mummies of children were found and assumed to be dwarfs.

The giant race of Indians came from the finding of giant skeletons which were really fossil mammalian remains of ancient epochs. Also from the discovery of buried skeletons which in time had become separated giving the impression of the individual being of unusual heights. Too, giant skeletons were occasionally found, one exhumed in West Virginia measured 7½ feet in length and 19 inches across the shoulders, but in every society there are individuals who reach unusual heights.

Early emigrants to America oftem called the head of an Indian tribe, King, Queen or Princess, thus still keeping the old European idea of royalty. It should be difficult to imagine the Indians with their simple form of democracy being like the kings of Europe. The idea of caste did exist between some of the Northwest coast tribes and some of the Atlantic region tribes, but this was exceptional. Equality and independence were the cardinal principles of Indian society. In some tribes, as in that of the Iroquois, certain of the highest chieftains were confined to definite clans and these were in a modified sense hereditary. The Apache, Chippewa, Sioux and a few other tribes did have hereditary chiefs, however the offices within the limits of tribal government were purely elective. These were chosen for their course, eloquence, previous service and, as in most elective offices, for their personal popularity.



# AMERICAN STATE NAMES OF INDIAN ORIGIN

- Alabama-----From Alibamu, the name of a Muskoghean tribe said to mean "Those Who Clear Land for Agricultural Purposes."
- Arizona-----From the Papago word Arizonac, which probably means "Small springs."
- Arkansas-----From Akansea, a name applied by the French to the Quapaw, a tribe whose name means "Downstream People."
- Connecticut-----Quonoktacut, meaning "River whose water is driven by tides or winds."
- Dakota-----(North and South) Tribal name of the Sioux, meaning "Allies."
- Idaho-----From a word said to mean "Gem of the mountains."
- Illinois-----From Illinek, meaning "Men," the name of a confederacy of Algonkian tribes.
- Iowa-----The name of a tribe meaning "Sleepy Ones."
- Kentucky-----Said to be derived from the word "kenta," meaning "field or meadow."
- Massachusetts-----The name of an Algonkian tribe meaning "At or About the Great Hill."
- Michigan-----From the Michigamea, a tribe of the Illinois confederacy whose name means "Great water."
- Minnesota-----From a Dakota word meaning "whitish or sky-tinted water."
- Mississippi-----From the Algonkian words misi ("great") and sipi ("water").
- Missouri ---------From the name of a tribe meaning "Great Muddy," which refers to the river.
- Nebraska-----From an Oto word meaning "broad water."
- New Mexico-----From the name of an Aztec god, Mexitli.



- Oklahoma------A Choctaw word meaning "Red People."
- Tennessee-----From Tanasi, the name of a Cherokee settlement. Its meaning is unknown.
- Texas------The name of a group of tribes meaning "Friends" or "Allies."
- Utah-----From the tribal name of the Ute, the meaning of which is unknown.
- Wisconsin-----The name applied to a group of tribes living on the Wisconsin River. Its meaning is unknown.
- Wyoming-----From the name of a Lenape village in Pennsylvania called "M'cheuwomink," meaning "Upon the Great Plain."

# DID THE INDIANS LIVE IN VAIN?

When we look back over the spectacle, of Indian anihilation, the ruthless advance of the frontier crushing out the lives of Indians on every hand, though sacrificing a lot of white blood to achieve this end, we are moved to ask: Did the Indians live in vain? Was all that he did, struggled for, fought for, for ten thousand years to be obliterated in three centuries? Was it misplaced charity on the part of the victors to put their helpless victims on reservations, to be wasted by disease, hunger and poverty, and later do everything possible to keep them alive merely to live as minorities in our midst? We can look at the record to see what the Indian has achieved and what the world took from him without giving much in return.

# SOME IMPORTANT INVENTIONS NOT KNOWN IN THE OLD WORLD BEFORE 1492

1.	Balsam	12.	Maya numeral system
2.	Cigar	13.	Manioc grater and press
	Cigarette	14.	Platinum alloy
4.	Coca narcotic	15.	Pronged cigar holder
	Cochineal	16.	Quipu
6.	Curare	17.	Rubber(Hollow ball, etc.)
7.	Ipecac	18.	Snow goggles
8.	Hammock	19.	Tobacco pipe
9.	Head Shrinking	20.	Toboggan
	Keln (indine) for goiter	•	

Since we are concerened chiefly with the Indian in the United States, it will be useful to add a fuller list of achievements of the tribes treated in our particular area.

11. Maize, and other plants

Food: Maize, popcorn, beans, squash, artichokes, sunflower seeds, maple sugar, acorn meal, lye-hominy, persimmon bread, nut oil, turkey, deer, bison, and pemmican.

Crafts: Buckskin, basketry, feather cloak, rabbitskin weaving, coil pottery, spinning with spindles, weaving with bar loom, chipping stone, pollishing stone, porcupine quillwork, pearl beads and geometric designs.

Travel: Dog travois, tumpline, birchbark canoe and dugouts, laced snowshoe, toboggan.



Housing: Wigwam, long house, earthlodge, tepee, brush shel-

ter, plank houses, lean-to and pueblo structures.

Dress: Roached head, hair braids, deer-hair headdress,

feather headdress, earth paints, beardless faces,

moccasins.

Narcotics: Tobacco, peyote, jumson weed, black drink and mescal.

Customs: Scalping, running the gauntlet, calumet, Indian file, sharing food, totems, guardian spirits, seeking vis-

ions, counting coups and exchanging presents.

Mythical Thunderbird, horned serpent, water monster, the tran-Characters: sformer, culture hero, the four winds, the corn maiden,

and the earth mother.

Borrowed Indian Words in American Speech.

Hominy, moccasin, papoose, pow wow, sachem, sagamore, squaw, succotash, Tammany, tepee, toboggan, tomahawk, totem, tuckahoe, tumpline, wampum, and wigwam.

This list of borrowed Indian words is not complete, because our speech has been enriched by many geographical terms. Almost half of the states in our country have Indian names and the number of cities and towns, with such names is greater. Among well-known cities are: Cheyenne, Chicago, Hackensack, Kalamazoo, Kansas City, Keokuk, Minneapolis, Mobile, Muncie, Muskegon, Niagra, Omaha, Osceloa, Oshkosh, Pensacola, Pontiac, Schenectady, Seattle, Tacoma, Tallahassee, Topeka and Wichita. There are many lakes and rivers bearing Indian names exclusive of English names that are translations of Indian names.

So the descendants of Indians have much to be proud of, and for those who must count all values in dollars or not at all, we suggest looking at the value of the tobacco, maize, potatoes, tomatoes, peanuts and other domesticated plants of the Indians taken over by the world. The sum of these values should impress the money minded that the Indians contributed greatly to the wellbeing of the world, in return for which he is threatened with extinction.



# THE INDIAN AND THE LAW

# SOURCE OF INDIAN AUTHORITY

Before the coming of the white man to America, it is believed that somewhat less than a million Amerindians occupied America north of Mexico, and including Alaska. They were probably divided into about 600 distinct tribes or bands, which differed widely from one another in language and customs. A majority of them appear to have lived in small groups, numbering a few hundred people. like a Sioux band or a Pueblo village. The largest may have included a few thousand persons. Their forms of political organization varied greatly. Some language families were broken up into village groups, like the Eskimo, which seemed to lack any organized political power. Others, like the Navaho or Apache divided into separate autonomous bands or extended family groups, without tribal unity. Others, like the Sioux bands, while lacking a central government, occasionally united on matters of interest to all, such as war.

At the other extreme, were tribes with cohesive organizations, which at times formed into confederacies with other similar tribes, as the Iroquois confederacy, which appears to have lasted several hundred years, and at its height may have controlled a large part of the territory now comprising the northeastern part of the United States.

In some tribal groups, the organization was patrilineal, with descent and authority passing through the male line---others, were matrilineal in structure, descent and leadership passed through the mother's line. Some tribes were wholly democratic in organization, electing their leaders and making other significant decisions as a result of full community participation, sometimes even going to the extent of requiring unanimity of all adult tribesmen in arriving at vital decisions. In other tribes was found a scheme of hereditary chieftainship. And in others, the basic control was vested in a hereditary priesthood.

# LEGAL STATUS OF INDIANS

The important point, however, is that regardless of the size of the group, or its scheme or organization, all were self-governing.

An Indian tribe in the United States is still recognized by the United States Supreme Court as a distinct, independent, political body possessing all the powers of self-government of any sovereignty, except insofar as those powers have been extinguished.



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Since under the Federal Constitution Indian affairs are subject to the control of the Federal Government rather than of the states. any modification or repeal of tribal powers must come from Congressional statue or a treaty. It is not generally known that to this day the laws, customs or decisions of tribal authorities are controlling in large areas of civil and criminal law, including questions of tribal membership, tribal property and tribal taxation, the form of tribal government, domestic relations and inheritance. A long period of administrative and statutory attempts to terminate tribal government resulted in retrogression socially, economically and politically. Consequently the Federal Government during the past two decades adopted a new policy of encouraging greater participation by Indians in the management of their own affairs. This democratic program offers a means whereby functions performed by the Indian Bureau may be transferred to Indian tribes or organizations. In addition to political function, proprietary activities and enterprises, as with many other local governments, now constitute an increasingly important function of Indian Tribes.

#### TRIBAL POWER TODAY

The power of the tribe to determine its own form of government includes the power to interpret its own laws and ordinances; such interpretations will ordinarily be followed by the courts and other government agencies. Since many tribes are trying to learn more about procedures in non-Indian society, tribal delegates and leaders frequently try to conform to the current practices in state, local and Federal governments. In fact, many tribes have adopted as the laws of their tribe many state statutes, such as laws governing marriage.

The power of review and approval has been delegated to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In the rare case, however, where the Commissioner vetoes an ordinance, his action must be sustained by the Secretary of the Interior. Very few ordinances are vetoed. The usual grounds for such action is an injustice to minority groups within the tribe.

# TRIBAL POWERS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The power to preserve law and order is one of the most important powers of a nation. What is regarded as criminal in each society varies greatly with its needs. Laws and institutions cannot be understood without a knowledge of the religion, family background, traditions, and likes and dislikes of a group. The attitude of the Sioux towards the taking of a horse illustrates the differences between various people as to what constitutes the crime. A man would be honored who was adept at taking a horse, especially from the enemy, and the whites were enemies during a long period of border warfare with the Plains tribes. This is not very different,



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however, from our own views during war. Someone who captures enemy equipment is a hero. But the Sioux had the same view during peace. We can understand the truth of an anecdote of an old Comanche chief who said that he had four sons who were a great comfort to him in his declining years as they could steal more horses than any other men in the tribe. Despite variations, a bird's eye view of the methods of administering criminal justice by Indian tribes will broaden our understanding of their government.

# BEFORE THE COMING OF THE WHITES

Regular police, judges and jails were unknown among most of the early Indian tribes. The private property of most Indians was usually limited to their weapons, clothing and houses, and later their horses. Consequently, the cause of over ninety per cent of our crimes were lacking. The solution of the few offenses against the public order was easier than at present, with our thousands of laws passed by federal, state, and local governments. There was no need for lawyers to argue about whether the state, federal, or tribal court was the proper tribunal to try and accuse. Since custom and religion rigidly controlled the actions of the group and all were neighbors and knew each other, the desire for public esteem usually prevented the breaking of recognized social rules. Infractions, when they occurred, could usually be settled by the family, who would persuade the erring youth not to bring shame upon them or if matters became worse, the chief might attempt to curb the youth by a talk. If, never the less, a member continued to be a menace to the community. more drastic actions were taken. Primitive justice is usually swift, certain, and drastic. Exile, death, and whipping were occasionally inflicted by some of the tribes as punishment of persistent violations of customs. Exile, which was frequently used by some of the Plains tribes, was imposed by the elder men of the tribe, and might be of a temporary or permanent duration. This punishment was very serious. Unless the exiled man was adopted in to another tribe, he might find it difficult to shift for himself. Blood feuds were frequent between families of the Plains Indians, the Eskimo, and the Iroquois. A relative of a murdered Indian, for example, would take revenge by retaliation against the murderer of his family. Sometimes adjustments would be made by agreement, such as gifts to the injured person or to the family to atone for the crime against the family. The Eskimo usually left punishment to the family. Their usual punishment seemed mild to us. It was ridicule by a song contest, with the members acting as spectators. An intractable menace to the village might be killed by the elders.



# AFTER THE COMING OF THE WHITES

The colonies and later the new nation did not interfere with the Indian tribes handling of their law and order problems among their own members. In some cases, treaties by the United States and the Indian tribes in recognizing this power, contained provisions enabling the punishment of non-Indians or the turning over to the United States for punishment of whites who violated the peace and order of the Indian community. It was natural that there should be no interference in the administration of justice by the tribes upon their own members, especially since even in the early part of the nineteenth century it was impossible for the new nation to preserve law and order among non-Indians in the vast area west of the Mississippi. The army was too small to attempt to cope with offenses other than the actual hostility of Indian groups. Even as late as 1880 many crimes between Indians on their lands, including murder, were settled by agreement and compensation as in the early days. One murder which was settled in this way by adjustment to the satisfaction of the Indian community shocked many whites. Since this feeling resulted in an important change in the law, the facts in this case are worth knowing. Spotted Tail, a Sioux leader, appropriated the wife of a crippled Sioux named Medicine Bear. He offered the offended husband a compensation for his loss. While these negotiations were proceeding, a friend of Medicine Bear named Crow Dog transformed the matter into a blood feud on August 5, 1881, by shooting the adulterer to death. The murder occurred in a reservation in the Dakota Territory. An adjustment was then made by the friends of Crow Dog who went into hiding. Crow Dog was tried and convicted in the Federal Court, but his attorney obtained a writ of habeas corpus from the Supreme Court of the United States. The Court unanimously held that Crow Dog in his relations with other Indians on the reservations was governed entirely by tribal law and was responsible only to tribal authorities.

# THE TEN MAJOR CRIMES

Two years later in response to public pressure Congress passed a law making it a crime, triable in federal courts, for an Indian to murder another Indian on an Indian reservation. This law also includes the crimes of manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, and larceny. The crimes of assault with a dangerous weapon, incest, and robbery were added in 1932 to make up the ten major crimes now included.

#### INDIAN COURTS

There are three different types of Indian Courts or Tribunals in which Indians may be tried, Traditional Courts, Courts of Indian Offenses and Tribal Courts.



#### TRADITIONAL COURTS

The oldest, but not necessarily the best known, is the traditional court of tribunal which in many instances had definitely prescribed punishment to fit each type of offense. These courts generally operated under an unwritten Code as necessity arose. Among the Apaches infidelity on the part of a wife was punishable by cutting off the end of her nose; larceny among the Seminoles is reported to have been punishable by cutting off an ear, and among the Cheyennes it was not uncommon to banish a member of the tribe for certain serious offenses. When such a member was banished he might, three or four years later, return to the tribe and request to be reinstated. These appeals for reinstatement were often favorably received and constitute the earliest form of pardon. Commission of certain offenses, such as murder, among some tribes, barred the offender from holding certain tribal offices. These traditional courts continued to operate among the Puebloes and the Hopis although such drastic punishments are no longer imposed.

# COURTS OF INDIAN OFFENSES

The Courts of Indian Offenses were first established by Commissioner Price in compliance with instructions issued by Secretary of the Interior, Teller, December 2, 1882. He mentioned the injurious phases of certain dances and rituals, plural marriage, the medicine man and the destruction of property following death.

Under the 1904 Regulations, the offenses consisted of; participating in a Sun Dance, entering into plural marriage, operating as a "Medicine Man," destruction or theft of property, giving or offering money to a friend or relative to procure a girl for the purpose of cohabiting with her, intoxication or the trafficing in intoxicants, and unauthorized leaves of absence from the reservation.

In 1934 the present regulations were drafted and many of the objectionable features contained in the earlier regulations, including that provision which attempted to control the right of an Indian to leave the reservation without a permit were omitted. The list of offenses was short in comparison to state codes, easily understood and translated. Indians for the time in their own courts, enjoyed the right to bail, trial by jury, probation and paroles and many other privileges.

#### TRIBAL COURTS

Following Secretarial approval in 1937, steps were taken to acquaint the Tribal Councils, agency personnel, Indian Judges and Indian Police with the provisions of these new Regulations. At this time many tribes had adopted constitutions which granted them the privilege of establishing and operating courts of their own, which for the sake of distinguishing them from the Court of Indian Offenses are called Tribal Courts.



Three questions invariably arise regarding the operation of these courts. First, the Indian Courts have no jurisdiction outside the exterior boundaries of the reservation, second they have no jurisdiction over whites, and third the court does have jurisdiction over an Indian committing an offense anywhere inside the exterior boundaries of the reservation. Fourth, Tribal law may provide for the punishment of offenses committed by a member off the reservation upon his return.



#### WHO HOLDS TITLE TO AN INDIAN RESERVATION?

Title to most Indian reservations in the United States is in trust for an Indian tribe or group. This is due to an ancient and well established principle of international law that when a mation acquires land by conquest, colonization or purchase, it secures the naked fee, or mere legal title. The aboriginal inhabit=nts have the right to occupy and use the land unless and until they voluntarily abandon it or sell it to the government or to a third party, with the consent of the government, or the government acquires the full title from the original inhabitants by purchase or the exchange of their lands for other lands. Indian reservations were created in many ways. The most common methods were by treaty. Act of Congress or Executive Order of the President or Cabinet officer. Other methods were purchase by or for the Indians and by gift. An Indian reservation, created from public lands by Executive Order of the President conveys no right of use or occupancy beyond the pleasure of Congress or the President. The United States may end the reservation without being liable for compensation, except perhaps under the Indian Claims Commission Act. If there is doubt of whether a statute of Congress intended to convey to an Indian tribe permanent right to rublic lands, the language and purpose of the statute must be considered by the courts.

It is not necessary, as a matter of law, that the legal title to the lands involved should be in the United States, though this is the common method. The fee is lodged elsewhere in several reservations. Furthermore, land may be legally an Indian reservation even though it is commonly known by another name; for example as Pueblos rancherias small Indian tracts in California.

Many Indian reservations originated from the surrender by an Indian tribe through treaty or agreement of some of its land. Others originated by the action of the Federal government in reserving for the native certain lands used by them from time immemorial.

An Indian reservation, however, is part of the state of its location and non-Indian residents are subject to state civil and criminal laws which, according to the Supreme Court, have the same force on Indian reservations as elsewhere, "save that they can have only restricted application to Indian wards. Private property within such an Indian reservation owned by whites, is subject to taxation under the laws of the State."



PROVISIONS IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1968 AFFECTING THE AMERICAN INDIAN------PUBLIC LAW 90-84 (H.R., 2516)

#### TITLE I

Amends Various sections of the United States Code relating to civil rights.

# TITLE IE RIGHTS OF INDIANS Definitions

- Sec. 201. For purposes of this title, the term---
  - (1) "Indian Tribe" means any tribe, band, or other group of Indians subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and recognized as possessing powers of self-government;
  - (2) "Powers of self-government" means and includes all governmental powers possessed by an Indian tribe, exective, legislative, and judicial, and all offices, bodies and tribunals by and through which they are executed, including courts of Indian offenses, and;
  - (3) "Indian court" means any Indian tribal court or court of Indian offense.

#### INDIAN RIGHTS

- Sec. 202. No Indian tribe in exercising powers of self-government shall---
  - (1) make or enforce any law prohibiting the free exercise of religion or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for a redress of grievances;
  - (2) violate the right of the people to be secure in their persons, house, papers, and effects against unreasonable search and seizures, now issue warrants, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or thing to be seized;
  - (3) subject any person for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy;
  - (4) compel any person in any criminal case to be a witness against himself;



- (5) take any private property for a public use without just compensation;
- (6) deny to any person in a criminal proceeding the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, and at his own expense to have the assistance of counsel for his defense;
- (7) require excessive bail, impose excessive fines, inflict cruel and unusual punishments, and in no event impose for conviction of any one offense any penalty or punishment greater than imprisonment for a term of six months or a fine of \$500.00 or both;
- (8) deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws or deprive any person of liberty or property without due process of law;
- (9) pass any bill of attainder or ex post facto law; or
- (10) deny to any person accused of an offense punishable by imprisonment the right, upon request, to a trial by jury of not less than six persons.

#### HABEAS CORPUS

Sec. 203. The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall be advisable to any person, in a court of the United States, to test the legality of his detention by order of an Indian tribe.



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# CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

# FOR THE BLACKFEET TRIBE ON THE

# BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION

#### MONTANA

\* \* \* \* \* \*

Approved December 13, 1935

Amendment I Approved January 18, 1946 Amendment II Approved May 24, 1950 Amendment III Approved August 30, 1962

Amendment IV Approved August 3, 1964

Amendment V Approved August 3, 1964 Amendment VI Approved August 3, 1964

Amendment VII Approved August 3, 1964

\* \* \* \* \* \*

PREPARED AND DISTRIBUTED

BY THE

BLACKFEET TRIBAL BUSINESS COUNCIL

May, 1969



# CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS FOR THE BLACKFEET TRIBE ON THE BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION OF MONTANA

We, the adult members of the Blackfeet Indian Tribe, pursuant to the authority vested in us by section 16 of the act of June 18, 1934 (48 Statutes at Large, page 986), and amendments thereto, do hereby organize for the common welfare of said tribe and the members thereof, and for such purpose do adopt the following constitution for the government, protection, and common welfare of the said tribe and members thereof.

#### ARTICLE I -- TERRITORY

The jurisdiction of the Blackfeet Tribe shall extend to the territory within the confines of the Blackfeet Reservation boundaries as defined in the agreement of September 26, 1895; and to such other lands as may be hereafter added thereto under any law of the United States, except as otherwise provided by law.

#### ARTICLE II -- MEMBERSHIP

### AMENDMENT III

"Section 1. The members of the Blackfeet Tribe shall consist as follows:

- (a) All persons of Indian blood whose names appear on the official census roll of the tribe as of January 1, 1935.
- (b) All children born prior to the adoption of this amendment to any blood member of the Blackfeet Tribe maintaining a legal residence within the territory of the Reservation at the time of such birth.
- (c) All children having one-fourth (2) degree of Blackfeet Indian blood or more born after the adoption of this amendment to any blood member of the Blackfeet Tribe."

# (Amendment III approved August 30, 1962)

Sec. 2. The tribal council shall have the power to promulgate ordinances, subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior, governing future membership and the adoption of new members.



#### ARTICLE III -- GOVERNING BODY

Section 1. The governing body of the Blackfeet Tribe shall consist of a council known as the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council.

#### AMENDMENT I

(Amendment approved January 18, 1946 superseded by Amendment IV)

"Sec. 2. The Blackfeet Tribal Business Council shall consist of nine (9) members duly elected from the four (4) districts of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, which are designated as follows: Browning District, Heart Butte Pistrict, Old Agency District, and Seville District.

There shall be three (3) councilmen elected from the residents of the Browning District. There shall be two (2) councilman elected from the residents of the Heart Butte District. There shall be two (2) councilmen elected from the residents of the Old Agency District. There shall be two (2) councilman elected from the residents of the Seville District.

The election of all councilman shall be submitted to the entire electorate of the reservation, provided that no one shall be elected as a councilman who has not resided in the district from which he or she is a candidate at least six (6) months preceding the time when he or she shall become a candidate for such office."

# (Amendment IV approved August 3, 1964)

- Sec. 3. In lieu of the districts herein described the tribal council shall have the power to establish communities, and the basis of representation on the tribal council from such communities, subject to popular vote.
- Sec. 4. (a) The tribal council so organized shall elect from its membership: (1) A chairman; (2) A vice chairman.
- (b) The tribal council shall elect from within or outside of its own membership: (1) A secretary; (2) a sergeant-at-arms; (3) such other officers and committees as may be deemed necessary.

# ARTICLE IV -- ELECTIONS AND NOMINATIONS FOR THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

Section 1. The first elections of the tribal council hereunder shall be called and supervised by the present tribal council within thirty (30) days after the ratification and approval of this constitution.



#### AMENDMENT II

"Members of the Tribal Council shall be elected for a term of two (2) years by the eligible voters of the Blackfeet Tribe, except the council members elected on January 20, 1948, shall serve until July 1950. Thereafter, the terms of office of the members of the Tribal Council shall expire on the first Thursday in July of even-numbered years. Elections of council members shall be held on the third Tuesday in June of even-numbered years."

# (Amendment II approved May 12, 1960)

- Sec. 2. Each qualified candidate for the tribal council shall file notice of his candidacy with the secretary of the tribal council at least fifteen (15) days prior to the election. The list of candidates shall be posted by the secretary of the tribal council, in the respective districts, not less than ten (10) days prior to the election.
- Sec. 3. All elections shall be held in accordance with the rules and regulations laid down by the tribal council, or an election board appointed by the tribal council.
- Sec. 4. The place of voting shall be designated by the tribal council.
  - Sec. 5. All elections shall be by secret ballot.
- Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of the members of the tribal council, or a board appointed by them, to certify to the election of the duly elected tribal council members. This shall be done within five (5) days after each election.
- Sec. 7. Any member of the Blackfeet Tribe, twenty-one (21) years of age or over, shall be eligible to vote at any election when he or she presents himself or herself at a polling place within his or her voting district.

#### ARTICLE V -- VACANCIES AND REMOVAL FROM OFFICE

Section 1. If a council member or official shall die, resign, permanently leave the reservation, or shall be removed for cause, the council shall declare the position vacant and shall elect to fill the unexpired term, provided that the person elected to fill the unexpired term shall be a resident of the district in which the vacancy occurred.



#### AMENDMENT IV

- "Sec. 2. The Blackfeet Tribal Business Council may expel a member for cause by two-thirds (2/3) or more members of the entire Blackfeet Tribal Business Council voting for expulsion. Before any vote for expulsion is taken on the matter, such member shall be given an opportunity to answer any and all charges at a designated council meeting, and the decision of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council shall be final.
- "Sec. 3. Any member of the Blackfeet Tribe who has ever been convicted of a felony in any court for which he has not received a pardon or a restoration of civil rights shall be ineligible for office and any tribal council member or other tribal officer found quilty by the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council of gross neglect of duty, misconduct reflecting on the dignity of the tribe or Blackfeet Tribal Business Council, habitual drunkeness, or repeated unexcused absences from official functions shall be expelled from office and shall be barred from holding any tribal office for the next succeeding term."

(Amendment IV approved August 3, 1964)

# ARTICLE VI -- POWERS OF THE COUNCIL

Section 1. Enumerated Powers. The council of the Blackfeet Reservation shall exercise the following powers, subject to any limitations embodied in the statutes or the Constitution of the United States, and subject further to all express restrictions upon such powers contained in this constitution and the attached by-laws.

- (a) To negotiate with the Federal, State, and local Governments on behalf of the tribe and to advise and consult with the representatives of the Interior Department on all activities of the Department that may affect the Blackfeet Tribe.
- (b) To employ legal counsel for the protection and advancement of the rights of the Blackfeet Tribe and its members; the choice of counsel and the fixing of fees to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior.
- (c) To prevent the sale, disposition, lease, or incumbrance of tribal lands, interests in lands or other tribal assets without the consent of the tribe.
- (d) To advise the Secretary of the Interior in regard to all appropriation estimates or Federal projects for the benefit  $\mathbf{o}$ f the



Blackfeet Tribe prior to the submission of such estimates to the Bureau of the Budget and Congress.

- (e) To manage all economic affairs and enterprises of the Blackfeet Reservation, including all oil leases on tribal lands and the disposition of all oil royalties from tribal lands, in accordance with the terms of a charter to be issued to the Blackfeet Tribe by the Secretary of the Interior.
- (f) To make assignments of tribal lands to members of the Blackfeet Tribe in conformity with article VII of this constitution.

#### AMENDMENT VI

(g) To manage tribal affairs in an acceptable and businesslike manner and in accordance with the administrative plan, called the Plan of Operations, and by amendments as necessary, subject to approval by the Secretary of the Interior or his duly authorized representative. All salaries or remuneration shall be paid as set forth in the Plan of Operations. The tribe shall pay only for services officially authorized in the administrative plan and actually received. The amount shall be a matter of public record."

# (Amendment VI approved August 3, 1964)

- (h) To regulate and license all business or professional activities conducted upon the reservation, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior and to levy assessments for public purposes, provided that any assessments upon non-members trading or residing within the jurisdiction of the tribe shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.
- (i) To exclude from the land owned by the tribe or its members persons not legally entitled to reside thereon, under ordinances which shall be subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior.
- (j) To requisition community labor for public purposes of the tribe and to purchase land from members of the tribe under condemnation proceedings in courts of competent jurisdiction, subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior.
- (k) To promulgate ordinances for the purposes of safeguarding the peace and safety of residents of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, and to establish minor courts for the adjudication of claims or disputes arising amongst the members, of the tribe, and for the trial and punishment of members of the tribe charged with the commission of offenses set forth in such ordinances.



- (1) To regulate the inheritance of real and personal property other than allotted lands within the Blackfeet Reservation, subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior.
- (m) To encourage and foster Indian arts, crafts, culture, and traditions.
- (n) To enact ordinances not inconsistent with article II of this constitution, governing adoption and abandonment of membership, and to keep at all times a correct roll of the Blackfeet Reservation.
- (o) To provide for the appointment of guardians for minors and mental incompetents, by ordinance or resolutions, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.
- (p) To promulgate rules and regulations governing fishing, hunting, and trapping on the Blackfeet Reservation.
- (q) To adopt resolutions regulating the procedure of the council itself, and of other tribal agencies and tribal officials of the reservation.
- (r) To delegate to subordinate boards or to cooperative associations which are open to all members of the tribe any of the foregoing powers, reserving the right to review any action taken by virtue of such delegated powers.
- Sec. 2. Manner of Review. Any resolution or ordinance which by the terms of this constitution, is subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior, shall be presented to the superintendent of the reservation, who shall, within ten (10) days thereafter, approve or disapprove the same. If the superintendent shall approve any ordinance or resolution, it shall thereupon become effective, but the superintendent shall transmit a copy of the same, bearing his endorsement, to the Secretary of the Interior, who may, within ninety (90) days from the date of enactment, rescind the said ordinance or resolution for any cause, by notifying the tribal council of such decision. If the superintendent shall refuse to approve any resolution or ordinance submitted to him, within ten (10) days after its enactment, he shall advise the Blackfeet Tribal Council of his reason thereof. If these reasons appear to the council insufficient, it may, by a majority vote, refer the ordinance or resolution to the Secretary of the Interior, who may, within ninety (90) days from the date of its enactment, approve the same in writing, whereupon the said ordinance or resolution shall become effective.



Sec. 3. Future Powers. The council of the Blackfeet Reservation may exercise such further powers as may in the future be delegated to the council by the members of the tribe or the Secretary of the Interior or by any other duly authorized official or agency of the State or Federal Government.

Sec. 4. Reserved Powers. Any right and powers heretofore vested in the tribe or band of the Blackfeet Reservation, but not expressly referred to in this constitution, shall not be abridged by this article, but may be exercised by the people of the Blackfeet Reservation through the adoption of appropriate by-laws and constitutional amendments.

# ARTICLE VII -- LAND

Section 1. Allotted lands. Allotted lands, including heirship lands, within the Blackfeet Reservation, shall continue to be held as heretofore by their present owners. It is recognized that under existing laws such lands may be condemned for public purposes, such as roads, public buildings, or other public improvements, upon payment of adequate compensation, by any agency of the State of Montana or of the Federal Government, or by the tribe itself. It is further recognized that under existing law such lands may be inherited by their heirs of the present owner, whether or not they are members of the Blackfeet Tribe. Likewise it is recognized that under existing law the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, remove restrictions upon such land, upon application by the Indian owner, whereupon the land will become subject to State taxes and may then be mortgaged or sold. The right of the individual Indian to hold or to part with his land, as under existing law, shall not be abrogated by anything contained in this constitution, but the owner of restricted land may, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, voluntarily covey his or her land to the Blackfeet Tribe, either in exchange for a money payment or in exchange for an assignment covering the same land or other land, as hereinafter provided.

- Sec. 2. Tribal lands. The unallotted lands of the Blackfeet Reservation, and all lands which may hereafter be acquired by the Blackfeet Tribe or by the United States in trust for the Blackfeet Tribe, including tribal timber reserve, shall be held as tribal lands, and no part of such land shall be mortgaged or sold. Tribal lands shall not be allotted to individual Indians but may be assigned to members of the Blackfeet Tribe, or leased, or other wise used by the tribe as hereinafter provided.
- Sec. 3. Leasing of tribal lands. Tribal lands may be leased by the tribal council, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, for such periods of time as permitted by law.



No lease of tribal land to a nonmember shall be made by the tribal council unless it shall appear that no Indian cooperative association or individual member of the tribe is able and willing to use the land and to pay a reasonable fee for such use.

Grazing permits covering tribal land may be issued by the tribal council, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, in the same manner and upon the same terms as leases.

Sec. 4. Grant of "standard" assignments. In any assignment of tribal lands which now are owned by the tribe or which hereafter may be acquired for the tribe by the United States or purchased by the tribe out of tribal funds, preference shall be given, first, to heads of families which are entirely landless, and second to heads of families which have no allotted lands or interests in allotted lands but shall have already received assignments consisting of less than forty (40) acres of irrigated agricultural land, one hundred and sixty (160) acres of dry agricultural land or three hundred and twenty (320) acres of grazing land, or other land or interests in land of equal value.

No allotted member of the tribe who may hereafter have the restrictions upon his land removed and whose land may thereafter be alienated shall be entitled to receive an assignment of land as a landless Indian.

The tribal council may, if it sees fit, charge a fee of not to exceed \$2.00 on approval of an assignment made under this section.

Assignments made under this section shall be for the primary purpose of establishing homes for landless Indians, and shall be known as "standard" assignments.

Sec. 5. Tenure of standard assignments. If any member of the tribe holding a standard assignment of land shall for a period of one (1) year fail to use the land so assigned or shall use such land for any unlawful purposes, his assignment may be cancelled by the tribal council after due notice and an opportunity to be heard, and the said land may be reassigned in accordance with the provisions of section 4 this article.

Upon the death of any Indian holding a "standard" assignment, his heirs or other individuals designated by him by will or by written request, shall have a preference in the reassignment of the land, provided such persons are members of the Blackfeet Tribe who would be eligible to receive a "standard" assignment.



Sec. 6. Grant of "exchange" assignments. Any member of the tribe who owns an allottment or any share of heirship land or any deeded lands within the reservation may voluntarily transfer his interest in such lands to the tribe in exchange for an assignment to the same and or other land of equal value. If the assignee prefers, he may receive, in lieu of a specific tract of land, a proportionate share in a larger grazing unit.

Assignments made under this section shall be known as exchange assignments.

- Sec. 7. Leasing of exchange assignments. Exchange assignments may be used by the assignee or leased by him to Indian cooperative associations, to individual members of the tribe, or, if no individual Indian or Indian cooperative association is able and willing to rent the land at a reasonable fee, such assignments may be leased to non-Indians, in the same manner as allotted lands.
- Sec. 8. Inheritance of exchange assignments. Upon the death of the holder of any exchange assignment, such land shall be reassigned by the tribal council to his heirs or devisees, subject to the following conditions:
- (a) Such lands may not be reassigned to any heir or devisee who is not a member of the Blackfeet Tribe, except that a life assignment may be made to the surviving child, widower or widow of the holder of an assignment.
- (b) Such lands may not be subdivided among heirs or devisees into units too small for convenient management. No area of grazing land shall be subdivided into units smaller than eighty (80) acres and no area of agricultural land shall be subdivided into u its smaller than 2½ acres, except that land used for buildings or other improvements may be divided to suit the convenience of the parties. Where it is impossible to divide the land properly among the eligible heirs or devisees, the tribal council shall issue to such heirs or devisees grazing permits or other interests in tribal lands of the same value as the assignment of the decedent.
- (c) Such lands may not be reassigned to any heir or devisee holding under allotment or assignment more than two sections of grazing land or other land of equal value.
- (d) If there are no eligible heirs or devisees of the decedent, the land shall be eligible for reassignment in accordance with the provisions of section 4 of this article.



- Sec. 9. Inheritance of improvements. Improvements of any character made upon assigned land may be bequeathed to and inherited by members of the Blackfeet Tribe or otherwise disposed of under such regulations as the tribal council shall provide. No permanent improvements shall be removed from the land without the consent of the tribal council.
- Sec. 10. Exchange of assignments. Assignments may be exchanged between members of the Blackfeet Tribe by common consent in such manner as the tribal council shall designate.
- Sec. 11. Use of unassigned tribal land. Tribal land which is not leased or assigned, including tribal timber reserves, shall be managed by the tribe for the benefit of the members of the entire tribe, and any cash income derived from such land shall active to the benefit of the tribe as a whole.

#### AMENDMENT V

- "Sec. 12. Purchase of land by tribe. Tribal funds may be used to acquire land under the following circumstances:
- (a) Patent in fee land within or adjacent to the boundaries of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation may be purchased either with funds under the control of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council or, if the Secretary of the Interior so consents, with other tribal funds.
- (b) Restricted or trust land, including land in heirship status, may, with the consent of the owner, be purchased with funds under the control of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council or, if the Secretary of the Interior so consents, with other tribal funds, under such terms as may be agreed upon, and restricted or trust title taken."

# (Amendment V approved August 3, 1964)

Sec. 13. Method of making assignments. Application for assignments shall be filed with the secretary of the council and shall be in writing, setting forth the name of the person or persons applying for the land and as accurate a description of the land desired as the circumstances will permit. Notices of all applications received by the secretary shall be posted by him in the agency office and in at least three conspicuous places in the district in which the land is located for not less than twenty (20) days before action is taken by the council. Any member of the tribe wishing to oppose the granting of an assignment shall do so in writing, set-



ting forth his objections, to be filed with the secretary of the council, and may, if he so desires, appear before the council to present evidence. The secretary of the council shall furnish the superintendent or other officer in charge of the agency a complete record of all action taken by the council on applications for assignment of land, and a complete record of assignments shall be kept in the agency office and shall be open for inspection by members of the tribe.

The council shall draw up one or more forms for standard and exchange assignments, which shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

#### ARTICLE VIII - BILL OF RIGHTS

Section 1. Suffrage. Any member of the Blackfeet Tribe, twenty-one (21) years of age or over, shall be eligible to vote at any election when he or she presents himself or herself at a polling place within his or her voting district.

- Sec. 2. Economic rights. All members of the tribe shall be accorded equal opportunities to participate in the economic resources and activities of the reservation.
- Sec. 3. Civil liberties. All members of the tribe may enjoy without hindrance freedom of worship, conscience, speech, press, assembly and association.
- Sec. 4. Rights of accused. Any member of the Blackfeet Tribe accused of any offense shall have the right to a bond, open and public hearing, with due notice of the offense charged, and shall be permitted to summon witnesses on his own behalf. Trial by jury may be demanded by any prisoner accused of any offense punishable by more than thirty days imprisonment. Excessive bail shall not be required and cruel punishment shall not be imposed.

# ARTICLE IX - REFERENDUM

Upon a petition of at least one-third (1/3) of the eligible voters of the Blackfeet Tribe, or upon the request of a majority of the members of the tribal council, any enacted or proposed ordinance or resolution of the council shall be submitted to popular referendum, and the vote of a majority of the qualified voters voting in such referendum shall be conclusive and binding on the tribal council.



### ARTICLE X - AMENDMENTS

This constitution and by-laws may be amended by a majority vote of the qualified voters of the tribe voting at an election called for that purpose by the Secretary of the Interior, provided that at least thirty (30) per cent of those entitled to vote shall vote in such election; but no amendment shall become effective until it shall have been approved the the Secretary of the Interior. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to call an election on any proposed amendment, at the request of two-thirds (2/3) of the council, or upon presentation of a petition signed by one-third (1/3) of the qualified voters, members of the tribe.



# BY-LAWS OF THE BLACKFEET TRIBAL BUSINESS COUNCIL OF MONTANA

## ARTICLE I

To be eligible for membership on the Blackfeet Indian Tribal Council, it will be necessary that the Indian be a member of the Blackfeet Tribe, living on the Blackfeet Reservation for at least six (6) months prior to the date of election at which he or she may become a candidate. The council in office shall determine whether or not he or she is an eligible candidate for the district which he or she proposes to represent.

# ARTICLE II - INSTALLATION OF ELECTED BUSINESS COUNCIL CANDIDATES

The newly elected candidates to the tribal council shall be installed in office at the first regular meeting of the council after certificate of their election has been issued.

## ARTICLE III - POLLING PLACES

Polling places shall be established as follows until otherwise provided by ordinance of the tribal council: Browning district; Seville district; Heart Butte district; Old Agency district; Agency Community Hall, Babb Ranger Station; Agency Community Hall; Heart Butte Community Hall; Little Badger Community Hall; Old Agency Community Hall.

# ARTICLE IV - JUDGES AND CLERKS

On each election day there shall be employed and stationed at each polling place three (3) election judges and two (2) clerks, who shall be named by the council in office. The judges shall judge the election and the clerks will record and tally votes.

#### AMENDMENT V

#### ARTICLE V - MEETINGS AND PROCEDURES

Section 1. A regular Blackfeet Tribal Business Council meeting shall be called on the first Thursday of each month, and special meetings may be called by the Chairman of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council at such times as are deemed necessary. Meetings will be held at the Tribal Headquarters in Browning, Montana. Regular Blackfeet Tribal Business Council meetings will be open to the public and from time to time the public will be invited to participate in the discussion of matters of importance to the tribe.



Sec. 2. Two-thirds (2/3) of the members of the entire Black-feet Tribal Business Council must be present to constitute a quorum to legally transact the business of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council.

Sec. 3. All decisions shall be by a majority vote of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council members at meetings at which a quorum is present; with the exceptions that a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the entire Blackfeet Tribal Business Council shall be necessary to rescind any former action of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council, and that this action shall not supersede any article in this Constitution that requires a vote in conflict with this amendment."

(Amendment V approved August 3, 1964)

# ARTICLE VI - DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Chairman. The chairman shall preside at all council meetings.

Vice chairman. Should the chairman not be present at a meeting the vice chairman shall preside in his stead.

Secretary. The secretary shall call the roll at the opening of each meeting. He then shall read the minutes of the previous meeting. The minutes shall be approved by the council, after which it shall be the secretary's duty to call to the attention of the council any unfinished business of the previous meeting. Further, the secretary shall read to the council all communications which, during the month have been received by said council. It shall be the duty of the secretary to answer all correspondence after it has been discussed and a decision made by the council.

Sergeant-at-arms. It shall be the duty of the sergeant-at-arms to keep order at all council meetings.

### ARTICLE VII - PROCEDURE OF ADOPTION

This constitution and the attached by-laws, when adopted by a majority vote of the voters of the Blackfeet Tribe voting at a special election called by the Secretary of the Interior, in which at least thirty (30) per cent of those entitled to vote shall vote, shall be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for his approval, and shall be in force from the date of such approval.



### CERTIFICATE OF ADOPTION

Pursuant to an order, approved October 19, 1935, by the Secretary of the Interior, the attached constitution and by-laws were submitted for ratification to the members of the Blackfeet Tribe of the Blackfeet Reservation and were on November 31, 1935, duly accepted by a vote of 884 for and 157 against in an election in which over 35 per cent of those entitled to vote cast their ballots, in accordance with section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), as amended by the act of June 14, 1935 (Pub. No. 174, 74th Cong.).



### GLOSSARY

Algonkian --- Term used to describe the rocks found in the region of Lake Superior. This formation found between the Paleozoic and Archean formations.

Algonquian---A linguistic stock. The Algonquian family occupied more territory than any other in North America.

Amerind---This word was suggested in 1899 by an American as a word to be used when talking about the races of man that lived in the New World before the arrival of the Europeans.

Archaeology---This is the scientific study of the works of ancient man during recent or prehistoric times.

Artifact---This is a term used by the archaeologist and others for the manufactured works of man, such as tools.

Atlatl---This is a device used to aid in throwing a spear. It is a short stick which has a notch or cup in one end in which the spear end is placed. The atlatl gives the thrower added leverage.

Awi-Awls---were made from a variety of materials. Thorns, cactus, splinters of flint, wood, bone, antlers. The awl was generally used to make holes or perforations. Used for scratching, etching, pipe picks and in pottery making.

Baking Stone---A rectangular stone, rarely over a foot long and about an inch thick. Usually made of soapstone.

Blade --- A term used for a number of cutting tools, usually made of stone.

Buffalo Stone -- A stone found and considered to be a lucky piece for the hunting of the buffalo, resembled a buffalo.

Calumet---The calumet is also known as the "peace pipe" and the "war pipe." However, strictly speaking, the calumet is the stem of the pipe.

Camp Circles -- It was no simple matter for a large group of Indians to move about and to be able to set up camp, so many rules and social orders were observed. When camping, the tribe would camp in a large circle. Each member had a set place to erect his tent. The camps were a living picture of the tribal organization. They showed where the leaders were, religious tents, etc. Each had its own place in the circle.



Chief---The Chief of a tribe can be considered as the political head of the group. There were many grades of chiefs and various titles were given for certain distinctive reasons.

Clan---The clan is a division within a tribe and members are related theoretically and sometimes actually.

Coups.--This term is French-Canadian for a sign of victory; however, coups were counted by many American Indian tribes. There were usually three coups. First for killing an enemy, second for scalping and the third for touching a dead enemy. Stealing an enemy horse also was sometimes counted and made a fourth coup. Counting coup was like keeping score.

Cree---A rather important tribe of the Canadian area; they belonged to the Algonquian stock.

Drills---Drills were made of stone, wood, bone and other hard materials. They were used for boring holes in many objects.

Dyes---Indian dyes were made of many materials. The materials to be dyed and the materials at hand decided what colors could be used. Lichens, roots, berries, poke-berries, blood-root, sumac, grapes, alder, provided dyes.

Ethnology --- This is the scientific study of the culture of a group of individuals, especially primitive.

Family---The Indian family varied in size and general relationships. Each tribe had its rules and regulations with regard to position and some were very complex. The rules of families concerned adoption, marriage, births, death, and prisoners.

Fast---To fast meant to do without food or water for a certain specified time. This was done on special occasions. It was a spiritual thing.

Fire Making---There were two methods used by the Indians at the time of the settlement. One was the use of flint and pyrites, which was later replaced by flint and steel. The method was to strike one against the other and this would cause a spark which started a fire in dry material. The other method was to rub sticks together between the palms, one end was placed in dry tinder and the friction would cause the tinder to ignite.

Gens---A Gens is a intratribal group, the member's being theoretically related to each other. Traced through the male side of the family.



Horse---The horse, as we know it today, was brought to the Indians by the early Spanish explorers. In 1541 Coronado brought the horse to the Plains Indians.

Iniskim---Blackfeet name for the Buffalo Stone.

Kainah --- A division of the Blackfeet.

Kinnikinnick---This term is spelled in various ways and the mixture varies in the different areas of the country. It is a "blend" mixed by the Indians and was used for their pipes.

Lance---A device used by the Indian for hunting and in warfare. The lance used for hunting had a shorter shaft and a broader, reavier head.

Moccasin---The footwear of the Indian. Skin of animals, mostly deer was generally used in the making.

Medicine Man---A person who gained his power of healing the sick through some secret means. The power usually came to the medicine man through dreams or visions.

Moon-Months---Were calculated by moons, the month beginning on the new moon. The Indian spoke of so many moons.

Mother-in-law-Taboo---A custom in some Indian tribes of forbidding a man to speak to his wife's mother or look upon her face.

Paint---Indians found many things in nature from which they could make paint. They applied the paint usually, with their fingers. Sometimes they made brushes from sticks, spongy bone, or hair. The Indian painted himself to be admired or to strike fear in his enemy.

Parfleche---Term applied both to the rawhide and to the container made from it. The parfleche was the suitcase of the Plains Indian.

Pemmican---An Indian food made from jerked meat or dried meat.

Piegan --- A group of the Blackfest Tribe, Montana Indian.

Pow wow---A term formerly applied to feast, dances, and public meeting of Indians prior to a grand hunt, a war expedition, or a council. Later became known as a reunion of the tribes for dancing and ceremony.



Quillwork--- A type of decoration used by many Indian tribes on various articles of dress, bags, pouches, pipes, and horse gear.

Quiver---A:container for arrows, made from skins or wood.

Sacred Bundles---Treasured objects which were supposed greatly to influence the destiny of the tribes that owned them.

Scalping -- The removal of the hair from the head of an enemy as a trophy.

Shaman --- A priest, conjurer, or medicine man.

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Stone Boiling --- A method of heating water for cooking.

Sun Dance---The greatest and most important ceremony of the Plains Indians. The Sun Dance was a religious ceremony.

Tipi---The dwelling or lodge of the Plains Indians.

Tomahawk---A term given to a weapon of war or a group of such weapons in use by the early Algonquian tribes.

Torture---To inflict or subject to intense physical pain. Torture was a kind of grim game. Women were notoriously more fiendish than men in torturing enemies. Running the gauntlet was a favorite method of torture.

Tribe---A group of Indians comprising a series of families or clans usually bound together by blood ties and believing all came from a common origin.

Warpath---A path of war. A term which meant that Indians had been aroused to a state of war.

Winter---Indian term for a year.



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Language

Stoutenburgh, John Squieres and Mclean Marriett, A. and Rochlin, G. Grant, Bruce

Museum of the Plains Indian Johnston, Alexander Poter, C. Jayne Schultz, James Willard Grinnell, George Birā

Ewers, John Grinell, George Bird Stoutenburgh, John

Seton, Jules M. Mueller, Louis C. Hofsinde, Robert Soloman, Julian H. Marius, Barbeau Red Horn, Peter Clark, Ella E. Ewers, John Emerson, Ellen Hofsinde, Robert Laubin, Reginald and Gladys Museum of the Plains Indian Lowie, Robert H. Wissler, Clark Hofsinde, Robert Dunn, J. G., Jr. McClintock, Walter Grinell, George Bird

Museum of the Plains Indian Randin, Paul

Tomkins, William

### BOOKS AVAILABLE

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Indian Wars and Warriors Indians at Home Indians in Winter Camp Indians of the Plains Indians of the High Plains Indians of the United States Indians on Horseback Indians, Pictorial Life of Indians Secret World John Colter Letters and Notes on the North American Indian Map of the Indians of the U. S. A. Massacres of the Mountains Meet the North American Indians Montana Cree My Life as an Indian Native Americans of California and Nevada New Indians, The North American Indians Old Frontier, The Old North Trail, The Pawnee, Blackfoot, and Cheyenne Pictorial History of the American Indian, A Plains Indians of Canada Plains Indian Raiders Plenty-Coups, Chief of the Crow Quest of the Fish Dog Skin Red Cloud Reference Encyclopedia of the American Indian Rythm of the Redman Sacagewea Slong; Last of the Plains Buffalo Show Down at Little Big Horn Strike Them Hard Tepee Stories Trapper Daga, Tales of the Prairie Trail of the Spanish Horse Two Leggings Universal Sign Language of the Plains Voice of the Coyote War Chief Joseph West With the White Chiefs When Buffalo Ran White Buffalo, The Whoop-up Country Wigwam Stories Wild Horse of the West Wilderness Kingdom Winged Moccasins With the Indians in the Rockies



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Blackfoot Deer Dance
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Fancy Dance
Grass Dance
Hand Game Dance
Indian Music, Indian Days
Indian Music, Montana
Miscellaneous Indian Music
Owl Dance
Prairie Chicken Dance
War Song

# Stories and Legends

Early Stories
Just A Dream
More Roundups, More Buffalo
Napi Stories
Pipes of the Plains Indians
Story of the Buffalo Horn
Story of the Buffalo Stone
War Stories

## School

Boarding School Days Holy Family Mission School Mission School

# Tribal Law Today

Tribal Council, Duties, and Responsibilities; by Earl Old Person

# Religion

Indian Religion
Painted Lodge
Prayer to the Sun and Moon
Prayers
Sweat House
Sun Dance Ritual
Tree Burial
War Prayers

## Language

Blackfoot Language Indian Language



## **HISTORY**

Big Hole Battlefield Blood Reserve Chief Crowfoot Treaty Cree-Blackfoot Battle Custer Battle Early Days on the Plains Early History Flood Fort McCleod Fort Whoop-up Nez Perce War Red Crow Small Pox Story of Blue Coat (Cree) Battle Story of Chief Joseph Story of Plains Indians Tradition From a Battle Treaty of 1855

# PLAINS CULTURE

Blackfeet Material Culture
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Customs
Giving Blackfoot Names
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Living Customs Before the Horse
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Superstitions



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